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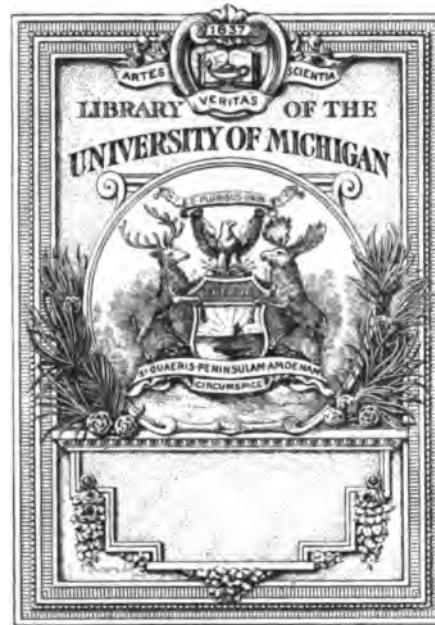
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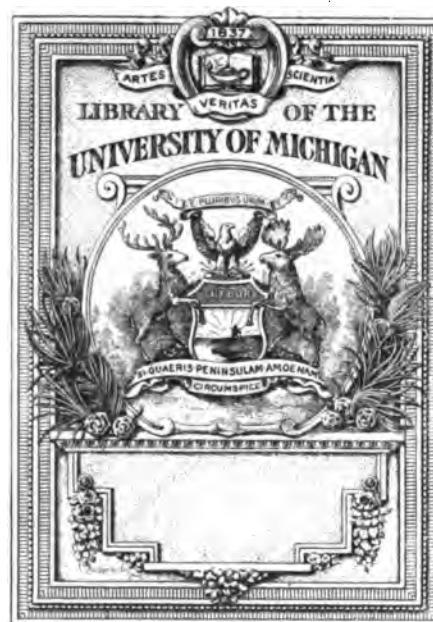
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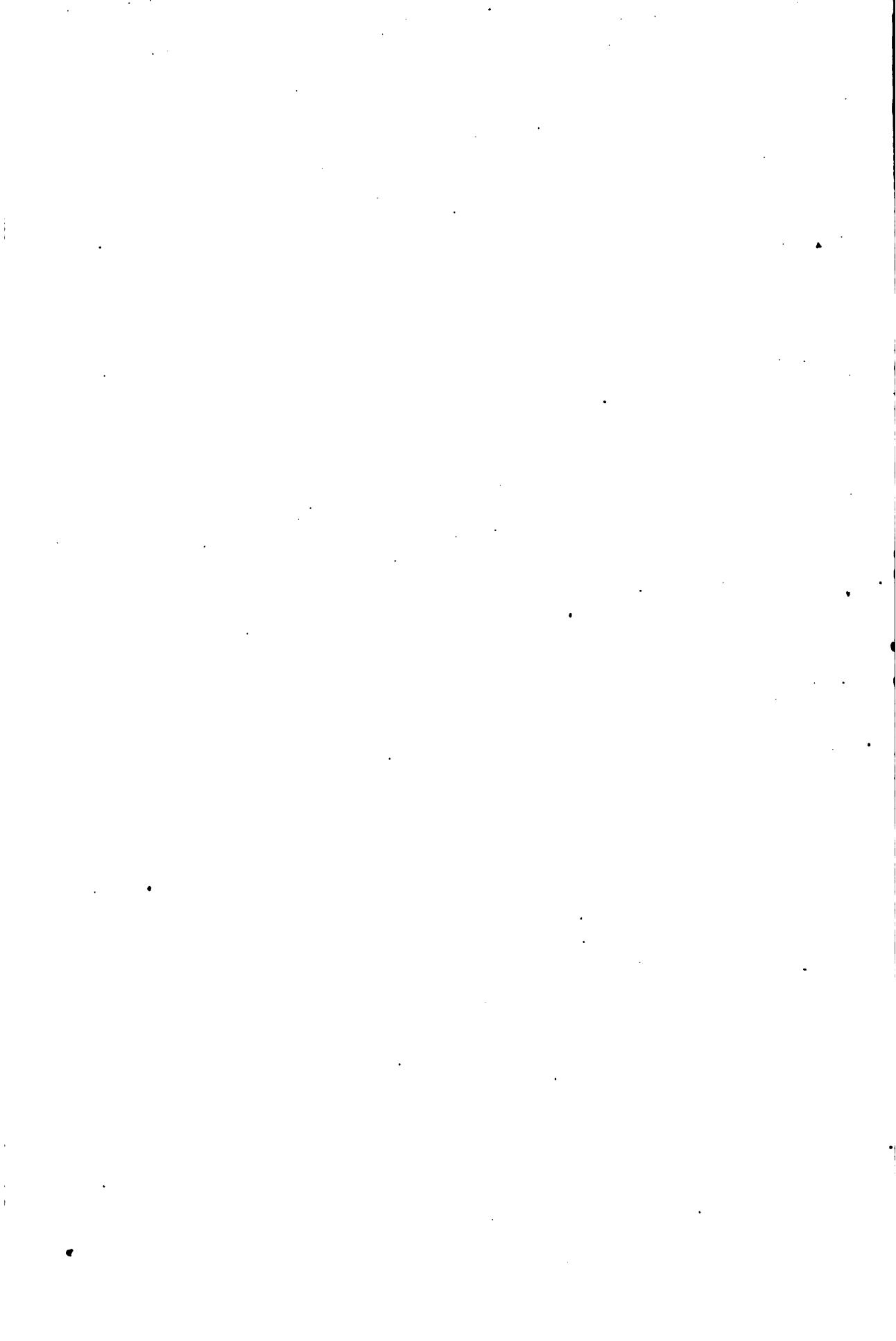
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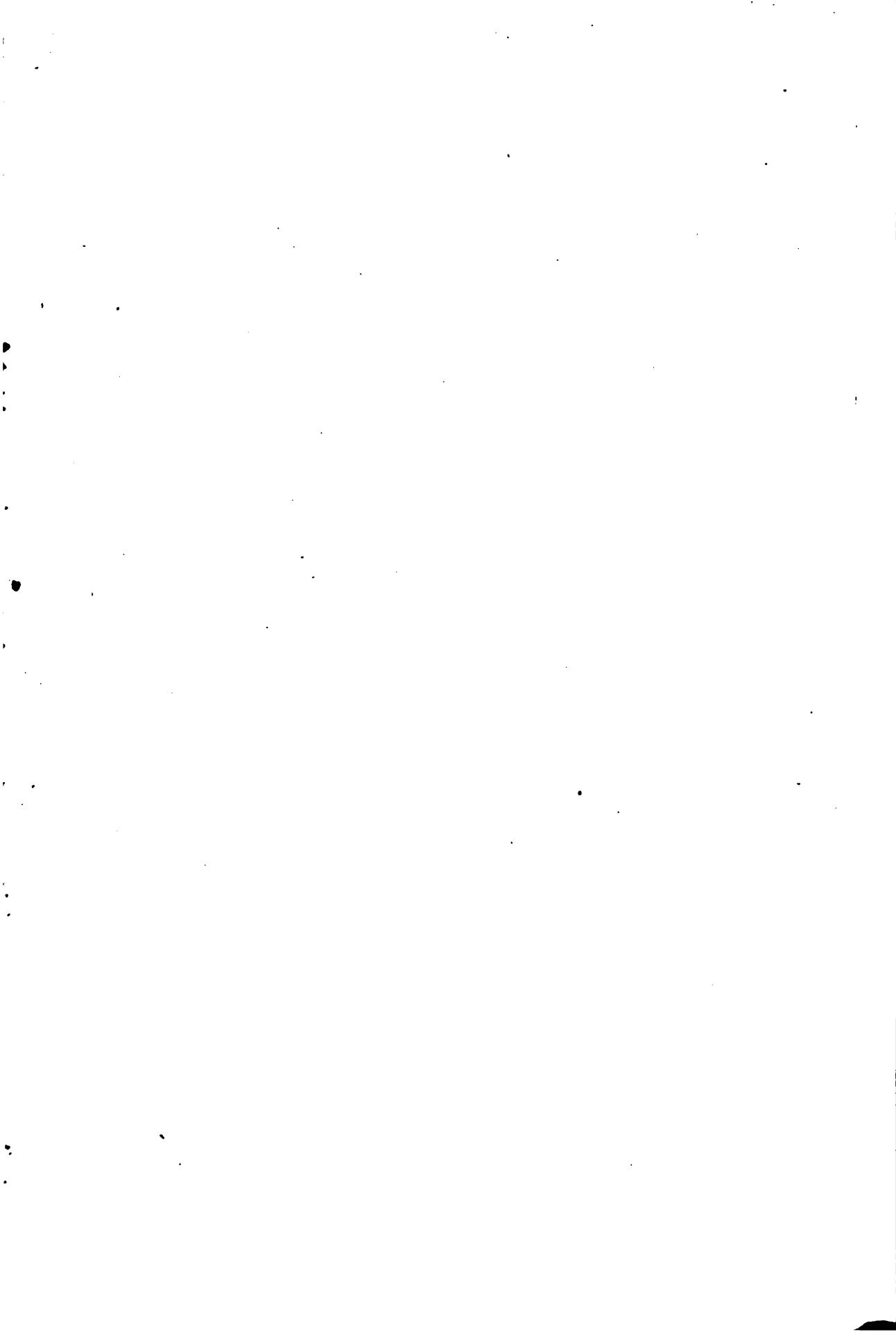


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REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

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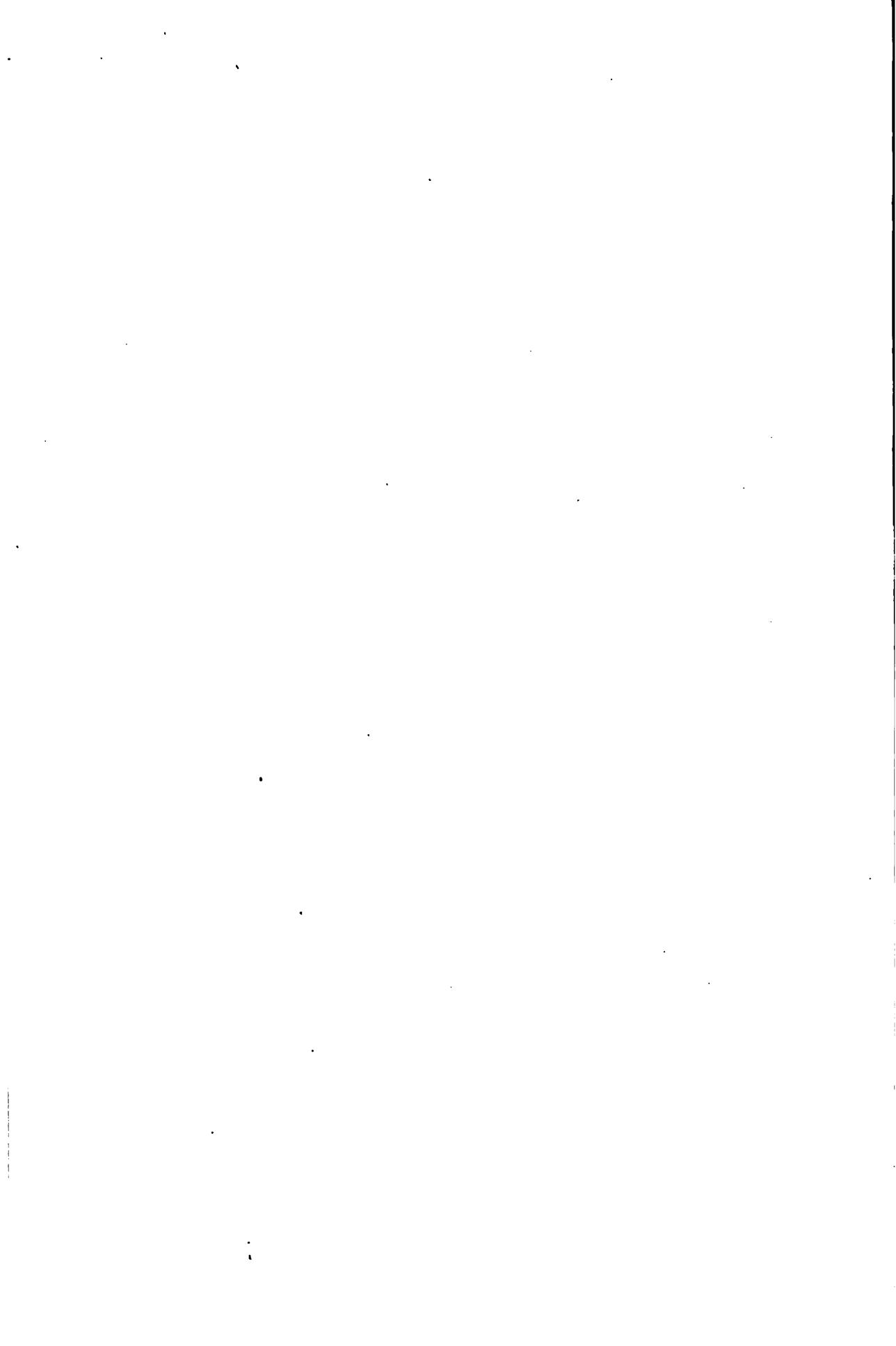
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REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING
TO CANADA

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

A Short History of British Colonial Policy, by Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A., Barrister-at-law. London, Methuen & Co. 1897. Pp. 500.

At a time when such questions as "Imperial Federation," "An Imperial Zollverein" and "Preferential Trade within the Empire" are occupying public attention in Great Britain and the colonies, it is most opportune that we should take a glance over the history of colonial relations with the mother country. Mr. Egerton's work deals with British colonial policy "systematically on historical lines." The value of history in connection with such questions as colonial policy is too little recognized by the majority of the people who talk and write about them. If it were a detail of procedure in Parliament, they would willingly consult the precedents. If it were a point of law in a court of justice, they would expect judge and counsel to quote and be guided by previous decisions. But when questions affecting Canada's ultimate destiny are discussed, or doubtful points in her constitution or imperial or international relations, there is, on the part of the general citizen, very little appeal or reference to history. This characteristic is, perhaps, part of the unhistoric attitude of the Canadian people in general.

Mr. Egerton commences his philosophical narrative with Henry VII.'s grant of land to the Cabots in 1498, although a hundred years passed before Great Britain had a single success-

ful colony. There had been many voyages before those made by the Cabots, but none had been attended by permanent success. Moreover, no king of England before Henry VIII. had made any great attempt to form a navy, and it is on sea-power that the strength of a colonial empire depends. The first notable colonization scheme was propounded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert about 1565; in 1578 he was "empowered to discover heathen lands, not enjoyed by any Christian prince, and to hold and enjoy the same with all commodities, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land," and in 1583 with fifty adventurers he took formal possession of Newfoundland in the Queen's name. In 1584 Raleigh founded Virginia, but his work was not successful. It remained for the Virginia company, the first great chartered organization, to complete the work done by Raleigh. The chimerical hopes of finding a north-west passage and of discovering rich gold mines in North America were gradually displaced by the idea that the new settlements would be able to supply England with raw products, and that the growers of these commodities would themselves become good customers for English manufactures. Also by both import and export trades English shipping would be benefitted. The first patent to the Virginia company was granted in 1606 and the second and more liberal one in 1609, a year after Champlain had founded the city of Quebec. In 1623 the charter was revoked and the colony brought under the direct control of the crown, a proceeding which thus "committed England to a policy of expansion by colonies." The Virginia company had been a failure because colonization is unprofitable as a speculation, and because many of the settlers were criminals.

In 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed from Southampton to Cape Cod. To obtain religious freedom a colony was founded. This was the "period of beginnings," when England had as yet no colonial policy, but when "the English colonizing faculty had been developed and Englishmen started along a road on which there was to be no going back." The next stage of development was the "period of trade ascendancy" by the mother country over the colonies, when it was considered that their *raison d'être* was to benefit her commerce. Restrictions were placed on the trade of

the colonies that Great Britain might become commercially supreme in the world. The mercantile system laid upon them a galling yoke which they bore for a little more than a century from 1660 onward, until it was thrown off and practically condemned by the American revolution.

It was during this period of trade ascendancy that Great Britain came face to face with her greatest colonial problems in North America. By the treaty of Paris of 1763, she added to her possessions a district inhabited by a people of foreign language and foreign religion, and with a system of laws hardly compatible with her own. In dealing with this new colonial addition three courses were possible :

"The English law might have been enacted *en bloc*; a code of laws embracing the best part of the English and French systems might have been drawn up; or lastly, the arrangement which ultimately prevailed was possible, under which the French Canadians retained their own French law unchanged. The second course would have been, in the abstract, the best, but the practical difficulties in the way were insurmountable, while the first course would have involved injustice to the French population. Time, however, has at last indicated the practical wisdom of the policy which prevailed."

Here was a conquered people whose civilization must be respected, in spite of the clamours of the small number of narrowminded English then living in the colony. These desired to make profit without labour. To have abrogated the civil laws of French Canada would have been, as Carleton clearly saw, a grave injustice. The Quebec Act was therefore a sign of British liberality and generosity, and was, Mr. Egerton says, not intended as an offset to the independent attitude then being assumed by the original English colonies of North America. The considerations which inspired it related almost wholly to Canada and it was founded mainly on reports made by Thurlow and Wedderburn, the attorney-general and the solicitor-general.

The debate on the Quebec Act in the British parliament showed quite clearly that though liberality was gaining ground in colonial policy, all the British statesmen were not fully prepared to grant autonomy to the various provinces across the sea. Even after the American War of Independence, by which England lost the finest colonies ever founded by any nation, these wise Londoners were not able fully to unbend, nor to

admit that their opinions might be modified by experience of new conditions. The consequence was that from 1778, when Carleton was driven by his disgust of jobbery to resign his office as Governor, until about 1848, the remaining British colonists in North America were struggling for a concession of autonomy in regard to taxation, appointment of officials, and expenditure on all branches of administration. Finally, responsible government, as we now know it, was fully granted and all ground for complaint was removed.

In the meantime, in 1830 and 1831, a new policy had been inaugurated. Systematic colonization was to be substituted for mere emigration, and for this change thanks must be rendered to such men as Gibbon Wakefield and Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary. The Wakefield system provided that colonial lands should be sold and not given away, and that the proceeds of such sales, in part at least, should be devoted to assisting emigration. So long as lands were given away freely capitalists could not secure labourers. To prevent, for a time, the labourer from becoming a land-owner was Wakefield's laudable aim. Great Britain at last had adopted a thorough colonization policy, and since then colonial progress has been greater, especially in the case of Australia and South Africa. There were, of course, difficulties, failures and mistakes, of which a strong example is the history of the colonization of New Zealand, as told by the author on pp. 291-296. There was too much bureaucratic government and opposition to the granting of independent self-government to each of the colonies. Lord Durham's famous report, the writings of the reformers, the growth of free-trade principles, finally changed the current of political opinion, and by granting much to the colonies, Great Britain received more than she gave.

The *laissez-aller* principle of Liberalism in the fifties and sixties had triumphed, and the colonies were completely self-governing. Mr. Egerton's fourth period is "the zenith and the decline of *laissez-aller* principles." The colonies had been given so much, that the "pessimists could see nothing left to grant them except complete independence." In 1872, Mr. Disraeli accused

Liberalism of a continuous attempt to disintegrate the Empire, and he maintained that "self-government ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation." Perhaps the consolidation is now being effected and Mr. Disraeli's idea will yet be realized. It was mainly during this doubtful period that South Africa was developed, and to this portion of colonial history Mr. Egerton devotes considerable space. His work in this connection is valuable and interesting, and instructive even to Canadians.

The last period—the era of the present—is entitled "The Period of Greater Britain." The colonies have expanded into great democratic communities. Democracy is taking its place beside the middle classes and the governing families in Great Britain. The colonial democracy is in close sympathy with that of the mother country in its aspirations. Add to this feeling the necessity for trade expansion. Foreign nations have said over and over again and practically demonstrated that they do not desire to trade freely with "the workshop of the world," and hence it is natural that British traders should look more and more to the colonies as producers of raw material and consumers of British manufactures—a return to the principles recognized in the development of the first colonies. Again, there is a general scramble for colonies by the nations-in-arms of Europe, and Britain must maintain what she has, to keep herself great among the nations of the world. For all these and other reasons, a new spirit has appeared :—

"This new spirit shows itself in the case of the self-governing colonies, on the side of the mother country in a deepened sense of their value and their claims ; on the side of the colonies in a wider Imperial patriotism, and in a more serious recognition of the difficulties entailed upon the mother country by her European and Imperial responsibilities."

Such is and has been Great Britain's colonial policy. There is no unity whatever about it, yet event has followed event in such order that much has been gained, and now there is a strong tendency to merge "Little Britain" in the "Greater Britain"—an empire which shall encircle the earth. Mr. Egerton, whose name appears to be new in the literary world, has done an admirable piece of work. It would be too much to expect that a book dealing with the history of all parts of a world-wide empire should

be free from minor errors. There are some omissions—such as that of any discussion of the bearings of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States upon colonial policy.

JOHN A. COOPER.

Sir Walter Ralegh: The British Dominion of the West. By Martin A. S. Hume. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897. Pp. xviii; 431.

Sir Walter Ralegh, as Major Hume says, is the author of the idea of a Greater Britain, and he is also the first great martyr of British Imperialism. His keen, all-embracing mind saw something of the meaning of the expansion of England, and it is fitting that the series of "Builders of Greater Britain" should begin with him. Of the further volumes as yet announced, the only one relating to Canada is that by Mr. Beazley on "John Cabot and His Sons." A long-suffering public has surely had by this time all that it can bear about John Cabot and his sons. They did almost nothing. There are others who did much, and some of them are little known. Sir Guy Carleton, the real author of the Quebec Act, General Haldimand, Governor Simcoe, Lord Durham, Sir John Macdonald are all "Builders of Greater Britain," whose achievements are real. A volume devoted to any one of them would have more interest and do more good than all the learned theories about the Cabots that the world is beginning to weary of.

Major Hume thinks highly of Ralegh's intellectual powers; "perhaps the most universally capable of Englishmen that ever lived—a fit contemporary of Shakespeare and Bacon" (p. 39). In early life Ralegh served for nearly six years in France, fighting on the Huguenot side in the civil wars. There he learned the high-flown gallantry of France which is remembered in England by the famous incident of the fur cloak and Queen Elizabeth. It was a courtier's trick, well known in France and Spain, and whether the event really happened or not it is true that Ralegh knew how to flatter. Queen Elizabeth favoured him and as long as she lived he had a high position at Court. Major Hume thinks that Court life dwarfed Ralegh's intellectual labours. Probably

it did. To be the most gorgeously dressed man in the Queen's retinue, to live in state at Durham House with forty servants to wait upon him and forty horses in his stable, to own and try to administer a vast estate in Ireland are not the achievements for an intellectual giant. Raleigh did these things and they prevented his writing a possible "Novum Organum" or "Hamlet." Perhaps, however, his Court life did as much good in another direction. His active mind occupied itself with plans for making England great, and it was he who first really saw that the road to empire was by a building up of new Englands across the seas. Raleigh was not of the vulgar horde who believed that gold was wealth. He saw that gold was only a tool of commerce and he planned not only to bring back gold to England but to found colonies of Englishmen in new regions.

Drake's return to England in 1580, after his memorable voyage around the world, stimulated English adventure. English seamen were suffering for want of occupation. A singular result of the great controversy of the Reformation was that the consumption of fish in England had declined. To eat fish was taken to be a sign of Romish fasting. Seamen turned to new fields and, if the plain truth must be told, they found in piracy, mainly directed against Spanish ships, the occupation which they desired. Some adventurers thought to find in the north of America a store of precious metal such as the Spaniards were finding at the south. Frobisher's voyage to Hudson Bay in 1576 when he carried back glittering ore to England, thinking it to be gold, was a mistaken forerunner of the real Klondyke now discovered in even higher latitudes. Raleigh and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, soon after planned to found an American colony. We know the story of Gilbert's assertion of English sovereignty in Newfoundland which thus became the first of English colonial possessions, and that of his calm and fearless death in his little ten-ton ship the *Squirrel*. Raleigh continued the work thus begun. He founded a colony in Virginia, he penetrated farther south into Spanish possessions and laboured for a new England in Guiana. His later work was less wise than the earlier. He too was carried away at last by the desire to find

gold. Yet this was really a subsidiary object and what Raleigh aimed at was a colonial empire. Spain understood this and Raleigh in the end fell a martyr to Spain's rage at his desire to intrude upon her monopoly in South America.

This is not the place to discuss more than the one side of Raleigh's activity. Major Hume has brought to light much material hitherto unknown. He is the greatest living master of the manuscript material for the reign of Elizabeth; yet this book is not quite a satisfactory performance. A special student of the reign of Elizabeth ought not to say that English naval supremacy was finally established then (p. 3). It was not so established until after the long struggle with Holland, and the subsequent peaceful union with Holland against Louis XIV in the seventeenth century. Major Hume is curiously ignorant of the fact that the French began a colony in America in 1534 (p. 20). He knows nothing about the important French fur-trade in Canada in the sixteenth century, and thinks that France's sole interest at that time in America was the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland. The motto of the series taken from Milton is happy : "Thou who of thy free grace didst build up this Brittannick Empire to a glorious and enviable heighth, with all her daughter islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."

The Lost Empires of the Modern World : Essays in Imperial History. By Walter Frewen Lord. London : Richard Bentley & Son. 1897. Pp. 362.

The object of this book is, in the words of the author, "to help to decide whether or not the British Empire is the thing of darkness that many would have us believe it to be," and also we may add, to discuss what lessons Great Britain may draw from the failure of her predecessors. With this latter view Mr. Lord selects for comparison four other nations that attempted colonization, Portugal, Spain, France and Holland. In the introductory chapter are compared the methods and results of the colonizing energy of these powers. There is a peculiar interest for us in the chapter upon the lost empire of France, of which

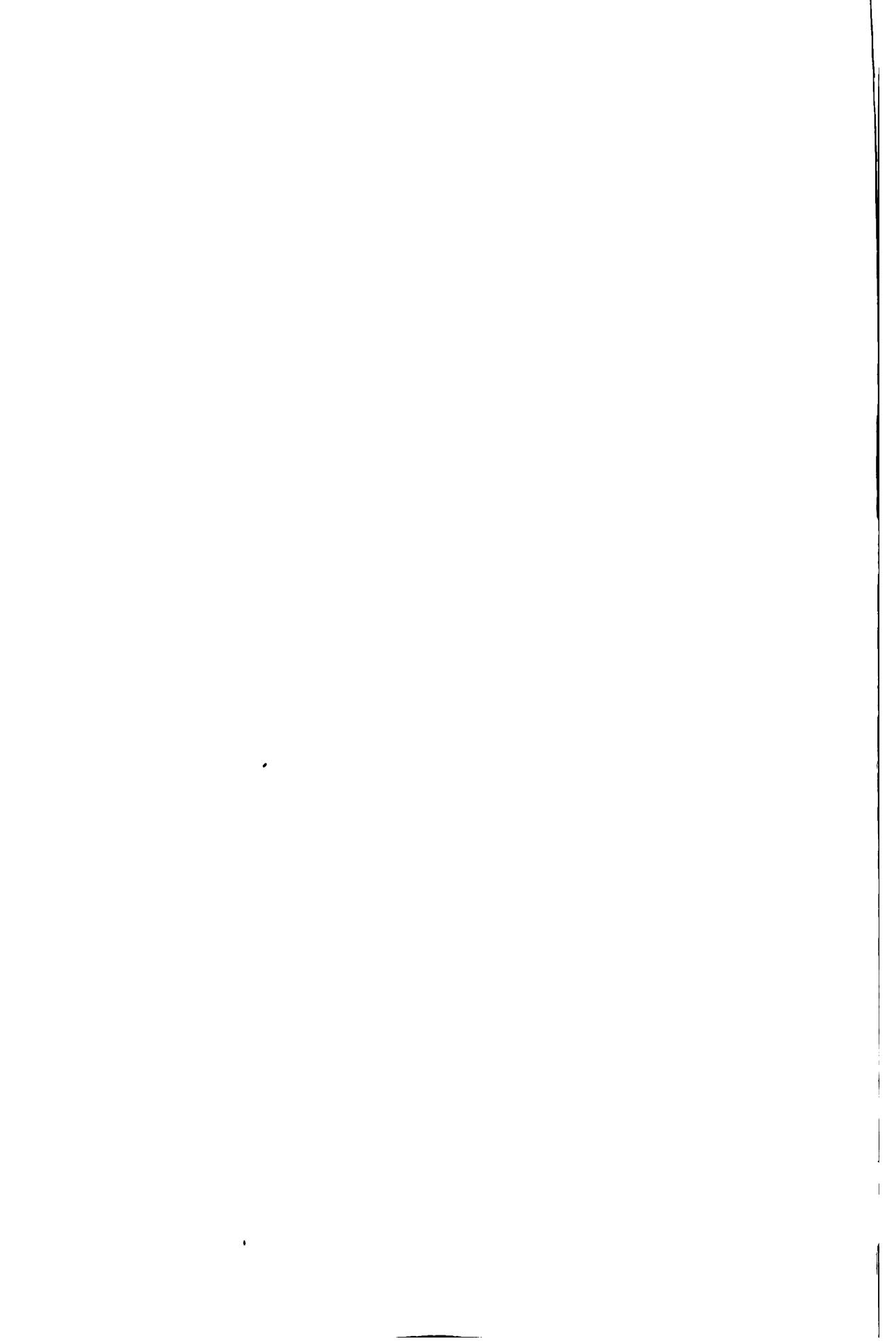
Canada forms so large a part. "It is the lost empire of France which in its potentialities actually makes up the greater part of the British Empire"—a startling statement perhaps, but true in the main. The French were first in the field in this country as in India, nor were their colonial pioneers lacking in force. Why then did France fail? The answer is that French colonial enterprise was never a truly national movement, and consequently is "for the most part the history of the unsupported efforts of a few great men."

The author sketches the exploits of La Salle, Champlain and Iberville, and describes the French plan of connecting the settlements of the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico, and the struggle between France and England which culminated on the St. Lawrence. The *proxima causa* of England's success was no doubt the fortunate conjunction of two great leaders, Pitt and Wolfe, but the *rationale* of that success will be found in the fact that the boldness of the French adventurers was not supported either by a spontaneous outflow of settlers or by a steady colonizing spirit on the part of the home government. Canada was lost to France, not as India by personal rivalry among its pioneers, not as the West Indies by inferiority of naval power, but by lack of support and of national interest for the colonial undertaking. Mr. Lord sounds an alarm:

"The situation of England at the present moment is exactly analogous to that of Portugal before her collapse. *Portugal had no men, England has no food.* . . . Since England owns so much good wheat country why not grow the food? . . . There are too many people in England and too few in the colonies, and the statesman who should set a current of immigration flowing would do more to strengthen and enrich the colonies than the discovery of a gold mine would effect."

The book closes with a well-merited tribute to one who has done so much to make clear the real meaning of Great Britain's work as a colonizing power, Sir John Seeley. Though too ambitious in title, the work is worthy of attention as giving in a popular way some instructive information as to what other states have lost and Great Britain has retained. Mr. Lord is no friend of the "Little Englanders," whom he denounces in scathing terms.

C. S. MACINNES.



REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING
TO CANADA

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

A Short History of British Colonial Policy, by Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A., Barrister-at-law. London, Methuen & Co. 1897. Pp. 500.

At a time when such questions as "Imperial Federation," "An Imperial Zollverein" and "Preferential Trade within the Empire" are occupying public attention in Great Britain and the colonies, it is most opportune that we should take a glance over the history of colonial relations with the mother country. Mr. Egerton's work deals with British colonial policy "systematically on historical lines." The value of history in connection with such questions as colonial policy is too little recognized by the majority of the people who talk and write about them. If it were a detail of procedure in Parliament, they would willingly consult the precedents. If it were a point of law in a court of justice, they would expect judge and counsel to quote and be guided by previous decisions. But when questions affecting Canada's ultimate destiny are discussed, or doubtful points in her constitution or imperial or international relations, there is, on the part of the general citizen, very little appeal or reference to history. This characteristic is, perhaps, part of the unhistoric attitude of the Canadian people in general.

Mr. Egerton commences his philosophical narrative with Henry VII.'s grant of land to the Cabots in 1498, although a hundred years passed before Great Britain had a single success-

ful colony. There had been many voyages before those made by the Cabots, but none had been attended by permanent success. Moreover, no king of England before Henry VIII. had made any great attempt to form a navy, and it is on sea-power that the strength of a colonial empire depends. The first notable colonization scheme was propounded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert about 1565; in 1578 he was "empowered to discover heathen lands, not enjoyed by any Christian prince, and to hold and enjoy the same with all commodities, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land," and in 1583 with fifty adventurers he took formal possession of Newfoundland in the Queen's name. In 1584 Raleigh founded Virginia, but his work was not successful. It remained for the Virginia company, the first great chartered organization, to complete the work done by Raleigh. The chimerical hopes of finding a north-west passage and of discovering rich gold mines in North America were gradually displaced by the idea that the new settlements would be able to supply England with raw products, and that the growers of these commodities would themselves become good customers for English manufactures. Also by both import and export trades English shipping would be benefitted. The first patent to the Virginia company was granted in 1606 and the second and more liberal one in 1609, a year after Champlain had founded the city of Quebec. In 1623 the charter was revoked and the colony brought under the direct control of the crown, a proceeding which thus "committed England to a policy of expansion by colonies." The Virginia company had been a failure because colonization is unprofitable as a speculation, and because many of the settlers were criminals.

In 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed from Southampton to Cape Cod. To obtain religious freedom a colony was founded. This was the "period of beginnings," when England had as yet no colonial policy, but when "the English colonizing faculty had been developed and Englishmen started along a road on which there was to be no going back." The next stage of development was the "period of trade ascendancy" by the mother country over the colonies, when it was considered that their *raison d'être* was to benefit her commerce. Restrictions were placed on the trade of

the colonies that Great Britain might become commercially supreme in the world. The mercantile system laid upon them a galling yoke which they bore for a little more than a century from 1660 onward, until it was thrown off and practically condemned by the American revolution.

It was during this period of trade ascendancy that Great Britain came face to face with her greatest colonial problems in North America. By the treaty of Paris of 1763, she added to her possessions a district inhabited by a people of foreign language and foreign religion, and with a system of laws hardly compatible with her own. In dealing with this new colonial addition three courses were possible :

"The English law might have been enacted *en bloc*; a code of laws embracing the best part of the English and French systems might have been drawn up; or lastly, the arrangement which ultimately prevailed was possible, under which the French Canadians retained their own French law unchanged. The second course would have been, in the abstract, the best, but the practical difficulties in the way were insurmountable, while the first course would have involved injustice to the French population. Time, however, has at last indicated the practical wisdom of the policy which prevailed."

Here was a conquered people whose civilization must be respected, in spite of the clamours of the small number of narrowminded English then living in the colony. These desired to make profit without labour. To have abrogated the civil laws of French Canada would have been, as Carleton clearly saw, a grave injustice. The Quebec Act was therefore a sign of British liberality and generosity, and was, Mr. Egerton says, not intended as an offset to the independent attitude then being assumed by the original English colonies of North America. The considerations which inspired it related almost wholly to Canada and it was founded mainly on reports made by Thurlow and Wedderburn, the attorney-general and the solicitor-general.

The debate on the Quebec Act in the British parliament showed quite clearly that though liberality was gaining ground in colonial policy, all the British statesmen were not fully prepared to grant autonomy to the various provinces across the sea. Even after the American War of Independence, by which England lost the finest colonies ever founded by any nation, these wise Londoners were not able fully to unbend, nor to

admit that their opinions might be modified by experience of new conditions. The consequence was that from 1778, when Carleton was driven by his disgust of jobbery to resign his office as Governor, until about 1848, the remaining British colonists in North America were struggling for a concession of autonomy in regard to taxation, appointment of officials, and expenditure on all branches of administration. Finally, responsible government, as we now know it, was fully granted and all ground for complaint was removed.

In the meantime, in 1830 and 1831, a new policy had been inaugurated. Systematic colonization was to be substituted for mere emigration, and for this change thanks must be rendered to such men as Gibbon Wakefield and Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary. The Wakefield system provided that colonial lands should be sold and not given away, and that the proceeds of such sales, in part at least, should be devoted to assisting emigration. So long as lands were given away freely capitalists could not secure labourers. To prevent, for a time, the labourer from becoming a land-owner was Wakefield's laudable aim. Great Britain at last had adopted a thorough colonization policy, and since then colonial progress has been greater, especially in the case of Australia and South Africa. There were, of course, difficulties, failures and mistakes, of which a strong example is the history of the colonization of New Zealand, as told by the author on pp. 291-296. There was too much bureaucratic government and opposition to the granting of independent self-government to each of the colonies. Lord Durham's famous report, the writings of the reformers, the growth of free-trade principles finally changed the current of political opinion, and by granting much to the colonies Great Britain received more than she gave.

The *Imperial* principle of Liberalism in the cities and states had triumphed and the colonies were completely self-governing. Mr. Egerton's fourth period is "the zenith and the decline of Imperial principles." The colonies had been given so much, that the "possessors could see nothing left to grant them except complete independence." In 1872 Mr. Disraeli accused

Liberalism of a continuous attempt to disintegrate the Empire, and he maintained that "self-government ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation." Perhaps the consolidation is now being effected and Mr. Disraeli's idea will yet be realized. It was mainly during this doubtful period that South Africa was developed, and to this portion of colonial history Mr. Egerton devotes considerable space. His work in this connection is valuable and interesting, and instructive even to Canadians.

The last period—the era of the present—is entitled "The Period of Greater Britain." The colonies have expanded into great democratic communities. Democracy is taking its place beside the middle classes and the governing families in Great Britain. The colonial democracy is in close sympathy with that of the mother country in its aspirations. Add to this feeling the necessity for trade expansion. Foreign nations have said over and over again and practically demonstrated that they do not desire to trade freely with "the workshop of the world," and hence it is natural that British traders should look more and more to the colonies as producers of raw material and consumers of British manufactures—a return to the principles recognized in the development of the first colonies. Again, there is a general scramble for colonies by the nations-in-arms of Europe, and Britain must maintain what she has, to keep herself great among the nations of the world. For all these and other reasons, a new spirit has appeared :—

"This new spirit shows itself in the case of the self-governing colonies, on the side of the mother country in a deepened sense of their value and their claims ; on the side of the colonists in a wider Imperial patriotism, and in a more serious recognition of the difficulties entailed upon the mother country by her European and Imperial responsibilities."

Such is and has been Great Britain's colonial policy. There is no unity whatever about it, yet event has followed event in such order that much has been gained, and now there is a strong tendency to merge "Little Britain" in the "Greater Britain"—an empire which shall encircle the earth. Mr. Egerton, whose name appears to be new in the literary world, has done an admirable piece of work. It would be too much to expect that a book dealing with the history of all parts of a world-wide empire should

In time from minor errors. There are some omissions—such as that of my discussion of the bearings of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States upon colonial policy.

JOHN A. COOPER.

S. W. C. Ryleigh: *The British Dominion of the West*. By Martin A. D. Hume. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: Longmans Green & Co. 1891. Pp. xviii; 431.

Sir Walter Raleigh as Major Hume says, is the author of the
second volume of *Historie of the World* and he is also the first great martyr of
the cause of English literature. His keen all-embracing mind saw something
of the meaning of the expansion of England, and it is
a pity that the second "History of Greater Britain" should
not be published. At the present instance as yet announced, the
first volume of the *History of the World* is said by Mr. Beale to be
written by Sir Walter Raleigh. A long-undiscovered page has surely had
its day. The author of the *History of the World* is John Hume and his sons
are the publishers. There are others who are much, and
more, to be said about Sir Walter Raleigh, the real author
of the *History of the World* and the *Historie of the World*. Since Lord
Browne's *Historie of the World* was published in 1603, it is Greater Brit-
ain which has been the author of the *History of the World*. And it is to any
one who has any knowledge of the history of Great Britain
that it is evident that the *History of the World* is the work of Great Britain.

it did. To be the most gorgeously dressed man in the Queen's retinue, to live in state at Durham House with forty servants to wait upon him and forty horses in his stable, to own and try to administer a vast estate in Ireland are not the achievements for an intellectual giant. Raleigh did these things and they prevented his writing a possible "Novum Organum" or "Hamlet." Perhaps, however, his Court life did as much good in another direction. His active mind occupied itself with plans for making England great, and it was he who first really saw that the road to empire was by a building up of new Englands across the seas. Raleigh was not of the vulgar horde who believed that gold was wealth. He saw that gold was only a tool of commerce and he planned not only to bring back gold to England but to found colonies of Englishmen in new regions.

Drake's return to England in 1580, after his memorable voyage around the world, stimulated English adventure. English seamen were suffering for want of occupation. A singular result of the great controversy of the Reformation was that the consumption of fish in England had declined. To eat fish was taken to be a sign of Romish fasting. Seamen turned to new fields and, if the plain truth must be told, they found in piracy, mainly directed against Spanish ships, the occupation which they desired. Some adventurers thought to find in the north of America a store of precious metal such as the Spaniards were finding at the south. Frobisher's voyage to Hudson Bay in 1576 when he carried back glittering ore to England, thinking it to be gold, was a mistaken forerunner of the real Klondyke now discovered in even higher latitudes. Raleigh and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, soon after planned to found an American colony. We know the story of Gilbert's assertion of English sovereignty in Newfoundland which thus became the first of English colonial possessions, and that of his calm and fearless death in his little ten-ton ship the *Squirrel*. Raleigh continued the work thus begun. He founded a colony in Virginia, he penetrated farther south into Spanish possessions and laboured for a new England in Guiana. His later work was less wise than the earlier. He too was carried away at last by the desire to find

and to the vast and enormous effect and what Raleigh
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Raleigh's opinion that has been so often to light much
material subject unknown. He is the greatest living master of
the narrative history of the reign of Elizabeth. In this book is
not only a continuous narrative of recent events of the
reign of Elizabeth right up to our day, but also supremacy
over Spain established then (p. 3). It was not so established
until after the long struggle with Holland and the subsequent
friendly union with Holland against Louis XIV in the seven-
teenth century. During this is his chief argument of the fact
that the French began a colony in America in 1536 (p. 30). He
considers nothing about the important French fur-trade in Canada
in the sixteenth century, and thinks that France's sole interest at
that time in America was the fisheries in the Banks of New-
foundland. The notice of the series taken from Alison is happy:

'Even this of long has given silent weight up the Britannick
Empire, a glorious and enviable neighbour with all her daughter
lands about and stony to a high degree.'

*For First Principles of the British Empire. Essays in Imperial
History.* By Walter Pater. London: Routledge
and Kegan Paul, 1885. P. 302.

The object of this work is in the words of the author, "to
raise a definite standard up to the British Empire is the thing of
America that many great men we believe is in fact" and also
he says add to himself that, "nowhere (Great Britain) may draw
from the world up and underneath. With this latter view Mr.
Pater attacks the neighbouring great many nations that attempted
to do much damage to Great Britain and Ireland. In the intro-
duction he speaks with interest the materials and results of the
historical study of a much greater. There is a peculiar interest
with the study of Margaret of Anjou, wife of France, of which

Canada forms so large a part. "It is the lost empire of France which in its potentialities actually makes up the greater part of the British Empire"—a startling statement perhaps, but true in the main. The French were first in the field in this country as in India, nor were their colonial pioneers lacking in force. Why then did France fail? The answer is that French colonial enterprise was never a truly national movement, and consequently is "for the most part the history of the unsupported efforts of a few great men."

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C. S. MACINNES.

Mr. J. Castell Hopkins has made an interesting contribution to the jubilee literature of the year in his *Queen Victoria, Her Life and Reign* (Toronto: Bradley-Garretson Co.). There is much to commend in the design and execution of the volume. It is in a measure a history of the British Empire during the reign of the present sovereign. The course of events is well described, and the inner forces are discerned and appreciated. The personal direction which the author attributes to the Queen in matters of policy is undoubtedly exaggerated, and exaggeration is not needed to make us appreciate her practical wisdom. The beneficent influence that she has exerted in matters touching the social life of all classes of her subjects, from the highest to the lowest, is, in the opinion of some competent judges, not more to her credit than the reticence and even the careful concealment of her own views that she practises where her constitutional position is concerned. The chapter devoted to Canada under the Queen is largely taken up with an account of the Prince of Wales's visit in 1860, and of the reception given to the Princess Louise and the Duke of Connaught. In fact, it is the action of the Queen upon Canadian sentiment through these her children that the author is concerned with, not the progress of Canada in general. The Queen has continually and in various ways manifested interest in Canadian affairs, and Mr. Hopkins has been careful to remind his readers of the fact by quoting from cable despatches and letters addressed by her to her representatives. It is a pity that the typography is not better. The paper, too, is cheap and nasty.

Victoria Sixty Years a Queen, by Mr. R. T. Lancefield (Toronto, Rose), does not aim at being more than a sketch, either of the events of the reign or of the Queen's private life. In selecting his material for the various topics Mr. Lancefield aims at being entertaining rather than exhaustive. In the chapter in which Canadian affairs are taken up, he very briefly surveys the political events since 1837, but gives more space to our little wars, and even finds room for an amusing election anecdote. The volume is copiously illustrated, but the illustrations cannot be commended. The paper, too, is poor.

Sixty Years of Empire, 1837-1897 (London, Heinemann), is one of a numerous class of books called forth by the Queen's "diamond" jubilee. It is a reprint of a series of articles by various writers that appeared in the Daily Chronicle during the year. Many excellent wood-cut portraits of distinguished men of the reign, and fascinating diagrams and graphic illustrations of the growth of population, manufacture, trade, etc., are popular features of the volume. Sir Charles Dilke is the author of the chapter entitled "The Growth of Greater Britain." In sketching the progress of Canada during the last sixty years he compares the successful combination of the French and English elements in a federated Dominion with the similar federation of French, German and Italian populations in Switzerland. He gives little space to Canada however. For him her problems are solved, her career started. "Canada has been slow and steady in her legislation—anti-Socialist, and upon the side of property," and he proceeds to discuss at length the political and social questions of Australia and New Zealand. By contrast with these stormy communities, indeed, we have no difficulties worth noting. In his judgment the French-Canadian poets are next in importance to Olive Schreiner among purely colonial writers.

In his *Evolution of France under the Third Republic* (New York, Crowell) Baron Pierre de Coubertin devotes a chapter to Colonial France. He has travelled widely (it was he, mainly, who organized the revived Olympic games of 1896), and discusses colonization with more than usual insight and experience. He shows that there have been three successive French colonial empires. The destruction of the first was completed by Great Britain in 1763. The second began under Louis XVI., who revived colonizing ambitions and efforts, chiefly in West Africa and in Asia. The Napoleonic wars destroyed this empire. The third was begun after 1870. In Algeria France had already a footing. She holds Tunis now and has secured in addition a vast portion of western and central Africa. Madagascar is hers, and in Asia she has seized a goodly portion of China. These movements are not new. France has for many generations been engaged in pre-

paratory colonizing work which has only lately ripened. In Europe the long peace since 1870, interrupted only twice by brief struggles on the Turkish frontiers, and the restless force of trade competition, have brought on a new race for colonies in which France has won some prizes. Those who are interested in past colonial efforts of France in Canada will wish to know if the new colonial empire will be built on better foundations than was the old. M. de Coubertin does not furnish much ground for thinking so. After the vicissitudes of a hundred years there has been little change in the French political spirit. The Republic is as bureaucratic as was the monarchy. The colonies are administered from Paris by officials who have no idea that to visit and know the territories which they govern is a necessary training for their work. M. de Coubertin indeed says that to have visited the colonies is rather a cause of suspicion in official life as it may mean heretical views about colonial administration. The governors are given no freedom of action.

"There is in existence a circular, dated 1893, addressed to the governors of the colonies, which orders them to buy in France everything which they require . . . bricks at Bordeaux and at Marseilles; salt pork at Havre, straw and hay elsewhere. Thus 'Indo-China, whose soil is made of brick-clay, and which produces enormous quantities of rice, must buy its stores of bricks and rice in France'" (p. 192-3).

It is the old story with which the history of French rule in Canada has made us so familiar. The average Frenchman is supremely content with what is going on in France and ignorant and distrustful of all lying beyond his horizon. With great eastern possessions, France has not a single freight service to the East. A French colonist complained that he could not get commercial orders filled properly in France because French houses were tricky, or slow, or suspicious, or inaccurate. Manchester, he said, had trade with remote parts of the world which was well organized, prompt and efficient. Decentralization, freer trade, an understanding of colonial needs are necessary to successful colonization. M. de Coubertin tells his countrymen frankly that they have not yet learned these things, and meanwhile other Europeans are outnumbering them even in French colonies. The Italians and Spanish in Algeria are more numerous than the French.

Captain Mahan's *Interest of America in Sea Power* (Boston : Little, Brown) is not happy in its title, for he does not really mean America but only the United States. The title of the essays is, however, a suggestion of the spirit of the contents. The five million people on the northern frontier of the United States, backed by the greatest of modern powers, are, to Captain Mahan, of no account except as a hostage to the United States with which to bring Great Britain to her knees. He points out that the United States, with their superior population, will be able to control the Canadian Pacific Railway so that the "Queen's Highway" across the continent will be of no military service. Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison, of Toronto, in an article in the November Nineteenth Century on *The Food Supply of the British Empire*, shows that in case of war Great Britain can be easily starved by her enemies, and urges that the food of the Empire shall be grown within the Empire. Captain Mahan's view is that such a food supply would be, so far as Canada is concerned, easily controlled by the United States in time of war.

Mr. F. Blake Crofton's *For Closer Union* (Halifax, Mackinley) is a reprint of papers dealing with Imperial Federation. Mr. Crofton urges that Canada must bear her share in imperial defence, and that the sense of nationality will be developed only when all parts join in bearing the burden of the Empire. President Felton, of Harvard University, wrote in 1844 :—

"A full and complete national existence is requisite to the formation of a manly, intellectual character. What great work of literature or art has the colonial mind ever produced ? What free, creative action of genius can take place under the withering sense of inferiority that a distant dependency of a great empire can never escape from ?" (p. 55).

Imperial Federation is nothing new. Benjamin Franklin advocated it. Pownall, a colonial governor, wrote in 1765 proposing "a grand marine dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America, united into one empire, in one centre, where the seat of government is." Adam Smith discussed the question fully in his "Wealth of Nations." Judge Haliburton and many others in Canada urged it in the first half of this century, Haliburton like Mr. Rudyard Kipling taking strong exception to the use of the word "colony" because it indicates an inferior status.

Imperial Defence, by Lieut.-Col. Sir George S. Clarke (London, The Imperial Press), is a thoughtful discussion of a subject which the mother country is anxious to press, and which the colonies are rather anxious to avoid. The author claims that the British Empire, unlike the Russian and the German, has grown without clear purpose or adequate foresight, and that hitherto defence has not secured the attention it deserves. He points out that the colonies, except Newfoundland, have already considerable military organizations. It was through the navy, however, that British expansion was accomplished, and its main defence must always be the navy. The tonnage of British fighting ships exceeds by one hundred thousand the combined tonnage of the fleets of France, Russia and Germany. Canada's seventy thousand seamen and fishermen are discussed as a possible naval reserve. He is in error in saying that Nova Scotia was not ceded to Great Britain until 1763, and that Canada had not responsible government until 1854.

Canada : Its Political Development and Destiny (The Arena, May, 1897), by Dr. J. G. Bourinot, is written primarily for citizens of the United States, and consequently contains much that is familiar to the average well-educated Canadian. A brief and lucid exposition of the leading features of the legislation and administration of the Dominion and of the provinces is accompanied by comparisons with the United States. The history of the selection of a name for the federating provinces is given. The Canadian delegates to the London conference desired the name to be "The Kingdom of Canada," but the British Government, out of what must now appear to be excessive consideration for the feelings of the United States, preferred a less ambitious title "The Dominion of Canada,"—"a designation," says Dr. Bourinot, "recalling that old Dominion named by Raleigh in honor of the virgin Queen." The Canadian constitution is working fairly well, and the inquiry suggests itself—what is the destiny of Canada? Over one-third of the paper is devoted to a consideration of this question. Independence, annexation and imperial federation are successively discussed. Touching the

first Dr. Bourinot's own words are suggestive: "National aspirations are the natural outcome of the growth and prosperity of a people." On the other hand, if the people of Canada were poor, and the federation were working badly, perhaps annexation would be regarded as a possible mode of escape; "but every year which carries Canada further in her career of political and industrial development renders annexation less probable." Imperial federation is a magnificent conception, but no scheme at all practicable has yet been outlined. To Dr. Bourinot's mind, there are very grave difficulties in the way of its consummation. But these may be surmounted. The impression left upon the reader is that, in the author's opinion, Canada is destined to take her place as a member of the family of nations—an independent state bound by many ties of interest, sympathy and affection to the mother land.

M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu (who ought not to be confounded with the well-known economist, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu,) has a thoughtful article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for January 1st, 1897, on *The English Colonies and the Plans for Federating the British Empire*. M. Leroy-Beaulieu appreciates the magnitude of the Empire as including one-fifth of the earth's surface and one-quarter of the human race, and insists that the sea does not separate but rather unites this scattered empire. The Imperial idea of the present day is something new and quite incompatible with the old colonial system under which the colonies were to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country. Between 1850 and 1870 it was generally thought that Greater Britain was about to disappear as had already disappeared Greater France, Greater Spain and Greater Portugal. After 1870 a new colonial era began. France revived her colonial ambition and the two new states, Germany and Italy, followed in her footsteps. M. Leroy-Beaulieu does not discuss the causes of the revival at this time. Undoubtedly it is largely due to the fact that two pressing political questions of continental Europe had been settled and Germany and Italy had, at last, taken their place among the nations. A long peace has followed, friendly to commercial activity. In Great Britain itself the

growth of Imperial sentiment has been due, M. Leroy-Beaulieu thinks, to the shutting of outside markets by the growth of protection, the consequent desire for freedom of trade with the colonies, the growing sense of "splendid isolation" in Europe, and the need of friends elsewhere. In the latter part of his article, M. Leroy-Beaulieu passes to a discussion of the problem of a closer union of the Empire. The white people of the Empire outside of the United Kingdom number ten and a half millions, and of these quite two millions are French or Dutch. Undoubtedly between the British in all parts of the world there are certain ties. Their social life is similar, they enjoy the same amusements and sports, they maintain the same respect for liberty and law. Yet we find important differences. The English element is relatively less in the colonies than the Irish and the Scotch ; in religion the prevailing tone is not Anglican, but rather non-conformist ; and, most important of all, the mother country favours free trade while nearly all the colonies are protectionist. Is any closer union between these elements probable ? asks M. Leroy-Beaulieu, and his answer is a negative. The mother country has little to gain by it for she has already by far the larger part of the comparatively small trade of the colonies, and in return for this small gain the colonies would ask the enormous boon of a duty on foreign products for the benefit of their agriculture. Apart from this unattainable good the colonies have little to gain, for closer union would mean their paying a share of the cost of Imperial defence, the benefit of which they now have without cost. If, says M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the colonies are not satisfied with the present situation they are hard to please. They have control of their own tariff, they are protected without expense to themselves. If they were independent states, Canada he thinks would fall into the hands of the United States, South Africa would relapse into barbarism, for the more numerous native element would become dominant, and Australia might fall foul of aspiring Germany or even Japan. It is rather the United Kingdom which has reason for complaint. Under the present system the colonies add little to its military strength and much to its dangers. Newfoundland threatens embroilment with

France, South Africa with the Dutch, Australia with the French in New Caledonia. M. Leroy-Beaulieu thinks that the attempt to draw the bonds closer would inevitably result in the dismemberment of the Empire. The colonies would be again governed from the metropolis and each colony, being necessarily in a minority, would develop grievances against the majority. He has travelled in Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, and is an experienced and acute observer.

The Story of the Union Jack, by Barlow Cumberland, (Toronto, Briggs), is a useful history of British flags told with especial reference to Canada. The author has brought together a large amount of information and the book is well printed and illustrated. In the wider field of history there are some slips. The Aztecs have not passed away (p. 13), for the Mexican people of to-day are mainly of Aztec origin; Barbarossa was not the first "Emperor of Germany" (*sic*) (p. 22); Charles X. of France did not "abdicate" in 1830 (p. 24); and British supremacy upon the seas certainly does not date from the time of Alfred (p. 62).

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The History of Canada. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S., [Canada]. Vol. ix (1815-1836). Toronto, Rowell and Hutchison; London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1897. Pp. xxi; 634.

For many reasons the critic would prefer to dismiss Dr. Kingsford's work with a few guarded words of commendation. The author, in producing annually a volume of six hundred pages, shows great industry. He aims to be impartial, and he has undoubtedly helped to illumine some hitherto obscure features in the past of Canada. He is the first writer to attempt to tell in detail the whole story of Canada in the present extended meaning of the term. So obvious was the need which the creation of the Dominion caused for a new and authoritative history, that Dr. Kingsford's volumes were gratefully received from the first. To the present day his work is looked upon by a large number of people as scholarly, accurate and independent, if not, indeed, attractive from the standpoint of literature. The English reviews welcomed it briefly but cordially. In Canada, where it should have been received with discriminating criticism, the newspapers were unanimous in praise. Almost no defects were pointed out, glaring errors remained uncorrected, and the general public grew to regard Dr. Kingsford as Canada's long-needed historian. At this late date, when the work is nearing completion, it is certainly no agreeable task to estimate its value by impartial critical standards. Were Dr. Kingsford's volumes like dozens that appear and disappear, unworthy even of criticism, they could be ignored. They are, however, on the shelves of every good library, they are respected, and they are quoted. To weigh their merits is a serious duty to historical truth.

So much by way of preface. The present survey includes only the ninth volume dealing with the period from 1815 to 1836. There is little about Upper Canada after 1819. Of the Maritime Provinces practically the only thing narrated is the great fire on the Miramichi river in 1825. A commendable feature is the early history of the Canadian North-west and

we have in detail the story of Lord Selkirk's attempt at colonization upon the Red River. The main part of the volume, however, is devoted to the history of Lower Canada. The period was one of almost continuous political agitation in both provinces ending in an appeal to arms, which it is easy now to say might have been averted by tact and forbearance. Notwithstanding the political storm and stress there was much real social progress. Wealth increased; the means of communication were improved by the construction of canals and steamships; schools, colleges and libraries were opened; newspapers were founded and the education of the people made rapid advances. So also did the population. In 1816 the population of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was variously estimated from 350,000 to 490,000. A strong tide of immigration from Great Britain set in and within fifteen years (1819-1834) not less than 267,315 intending settlers landed at Quebec.

"The effect of the transient emigration on the *permanent* inhabitants of Lower Canada this year," said the *Quebec Gazette* of 11th November, 1831, ". . . has been similar to the passage of an immense army, much exposed and ill supplied, and leaving the inhabitants to take care of and provide for the sick, wounded and disabled, and bury their dead."

The influx year after year of such a host of English-speaking people excited the fears of the French-Canadians and helped to create the belief that the settled policy of the British government was to overthrow their cherished French institutions.

These aspects of social evolution are of profound historical interest. Political questions are important, but they are not the most important things. Yet of these quieter movements of commerce and social life Dr. Kingsford has almost nothing to say, while with the intricate details of petty political disputes his readers are surfeited. Like the late Professor Freeman, he has an eye for the development of political institutions and seems to think that in this the whole meaning of history is found. Perhaps this was the prevalent view thirty years ago. To-day it is the daily life of the people that demands elucidation from the historian.

If we turn to consider the authorities which Dr. Kingsford consults, we find that our impression of inadequacy in his work is strengthened. He says in his preface:

"The historical view of those days can never be limited to a matter of opinion, nor can it be affected by misrepresentation. The record of them must be based only on the official documents of the period sustained by the contemporary evidence which is accessible."

The inference is that this work is based only upon such "official documents" and "contemporary evidence."

In a book of 634 pages, there are but seventy references to the documents in the Canadian archives. In 1896 the Colonial Office documents had been calendared by Dr. Brymner to the end of 1818 for both Upper and Lower Canada and these calendars have been published. Accordingly, in the beginning of this volume where Dr. Brymner's calendar makes the work easy, the citations of authorities are fairly numerous, even in respect to trifling matters. After 1818, however, they become infrequent, and cease altogether on page 389. After the 22nd March, 1828, there is not a single reference to any document in the archives. There are in all fifty-one references to calendared papers and only nineteen for the much longer period covered by those that are uncalendared. It is obvious that the great mass of uncalendared documents has not been consulted by Dr. Kingsford.

The main sources of his information are not hard to find, although few references are furnished. The chapters upon Upper Canada are little more than a summary of Gourlay's personal narrative forming part of the introduction to his well-known "Statistical Account." The "Statistical Account" itself is unquestionably of great value, and contains abundant materials for a fairly complete account of the economic condition of the province at that time, when read in conjunction with the State papers. Dr. Kingsford, however, scarcely uses this, the most valuable part of Gourlay's work. He criticizes Gourlay himself adversely:

"Mr. Gourlay was a man of great self-assertion but of little judgment, not without education, and with strong opinions. There is no ground to doubt the honesty of his convictions, if they may be so called; on the other hand no great value can be attached to his opinions, for he was guided by personal feeling and prejudice" (p. 208).

Yet, having thus discounted Gourlay's narrative, Dr. Kingsford follows it almost without qualification.

For Lower Canada, Dr. Kingsford appears to rely almost entirely upon the dull, but conscientious narrative of Christie

representing the English party, and upon the careful and moderate "Histoire du Canada sous la domination Anglaise" of M. Bibaud as an exponent of the views of the French-Canadians. Although Christie is cited only about twenty times and Bibaud only six, his real obligations to them throughout are very great. Garneau's well-known work is barely mentioned, and seems scarcely to have been consulted.

Dr. Kingsford is not always happy in his interpretation of such authorities as he does consult. He sometimes states exactly the opposite of what he finds in his material. Thus in relating the impeachment of Justice Foucher, he plainly relies upon Bibaud, whom he cites in a note. He states that

"Mr. Foucher was defended by members of the assembly of high character, including Messrs. Taschereau, Davidson, Guay (sic), Vanfelson and Andrew Stuart" (p. 74).

Mr. Bibaud states just the contrary:

"Quoique les accusateurs de M. Foucher eussent pour approbateurs des membres estimables de l'assemblée, MM. Taschereau, Davidson, Gugy, Vanfelson, Andrew Stuart, et autres, on ne peut guère s'empêcher de sourire en voyant qualifiés de hauts 'crimes et délits' les légers écarts, les petites irregularités portés à sa charge et une vengeance éclatante et exemplaire appellée sur ces présumés forfaits" (p. 191).

Again M. Bibaud is the authority for the statement that M. Papineau said in the Assembly:

"Si cette chambre a exprimé les opinions du pays, les ordonnances *sont abrogées* ; car quand tous les citoyens d'un pays repoussent unanimement une mauvaise loi, il n'y a plus de moyen de la faire exécuter ; elle est *abrogée*" (p. 396).

Dr. Kingsford translates this:

"If this house has given expression to the opinion of the assembly, the ordinances *are annulled* (*abrogées*) for when all the inhabitants of a county reject (*repoussent*) unanimously a bad law, there is no means to put it in execution. *It is annulled*" (p. 426).

By translating "pays" as "assembly" Dr. Kingsford loses entirely the real meaning of his author. Again, referring to the address proposed in the Legislature of Lower Canada which asked for the dismissal of Robert Christie "from any place of honour or profit held by him," he says:

"It was lost principally by the votes of the township members ; seven of the eight returned voted against it" (p. 419).

Christie prints the division list, as also does Bibaud. It was before Dr. Kingford's eyes. Only five of the "township"

members voted, and, as he ought to know, there were only seven members in all from the townships.

Some minor slips are obvious and rather amusing. M. Morin is given an appointment four years after his death, thus :

"In 1855 he was raised to the bench. Four years later he was appointed to the commission for codifying the laws of Lower Canada He died in 1865" (pp. 451-2).

A despatch to Lord Dalhousie refers to an event still eleven years in the future :

"Lord Dalhousie received in reply a minute of the privy council, dated 26th of April, 1807, to the effect that the convention of 1818 was 'forever'" (p. 345).

But mistakes in names and dates are of perpetual occurrence. An author has no right to expect his readers to correct his proofs for him, yet we could forgive these little things if the work were adequate in other respects.

Dr. Kingsford does not tell us much that we should like to know, and he increases the bulk of his history by many things either irrelevant or frivolous. There is entire absence of perspective. A considerable biographical sketch is given of an obscure artist who chanced to make a portrait of Sir George Prevost. We have the story of Lady Sarah Lennox's elopement, of the preservation of the bridge of Jena, of the Duke of Wellington's duel with Lord Winchelsea, and even that of Wnyard's ghost. On the authority of a Mrs. Hill who was interviewed by Mr. Walter Shanly many years ago, it is gravely related that Colonel Hamilton was "seriously hurt" at the battle of Chippawa although he was in reality forty miles away at the time. Pages are given to events in England such as the Peterloo massacre, the passage of the Six Acts, Thistlewood's conspiracy, and the agitation for "Reform," while important aspects of Canadian history are totally neglected.

Another ground of complaint against the author is his heavy and laboured style. Hundreds of sentences like the following could be quoted :

"The refusal of the imperial government to entertain the impeachment of the judges led to much anger with the majority of the assembly. It was represented as an act of tyranny and a wrong of *lèse majesté* of the people's rights" (p. 46).

"There were also grounds for the belief that the support of Mr. Papineau and of his followers, in the advocacy of the claims of Sir Francis Burton to the appointment, was not merely those of fanciful personality" (p. 365).

Dr. Kingsford does not relish such sentences in another's work; why should he inflict them upon his readers? More care, more time spent in revision, would have removed this defect and, perhaps, some of the others.

✓ *The History of the Dominion of Canada*, by W. H. P. Clement, B.A., LL.B. Toronto, William Briggs, 1897. Pp. viii ; 350.

It has long been extremely difficult for teachers in public schools properly to present Canadian history to Canadian children. There have been two reasons for this. First, so many other subjects have been crowded upon underpaid and under-trained teachers that proper attention could not be given to this one; and secondly, there was no text-book which would give teachers and pupils a comprehensive and concise statement of the leading events, indicating at the same time the romantic character of the past and the silver lining of the future. Therefore up to the present time, except in the case of a few rare teachers throbbing with patriotic fervour and possessed of imagination, there has been no teaching of Canadian history in Canadian schools. The teachers of Nova Scotia, as well as the poet Longfellow, have sung the glories of Acadia and the blue blood of some of her founders; schoolmasters and mistresses of the province of Quebec have glowed with enthusiasm at stories of "La Belle France" and her colonizing efforts; but these do not make up the whole story of Canada. In Ontario and the west, while discussing the outlines of Canadian history in a matter of fact way, pedagogues have talked of Britain's Marlboroughs, Wellingtons and Nelsons, with but scanty reference to those other British statesmen and soldiers who have laid in Canada the foundations of a state. Until 1867 it was natural that there should be no unity in the teaching of Canadian history, for there was no union of political life, of thought, or of sentiment in what is now Canada. This is not yet wholly changed. Nations are not made in a day, and to say that the Canadian nation, after thirty years, is yet in its early stages of

development, is neither unkind nor inaccurate. Until there is a strong national sentiment neither teachers nor writers will be able to give a sympathetic presentation of Canada's striking and romantic history. On the other hand the effect may react on the cause, and pedagogues and historians might, by vigour and interest in telling Canada's story, do much to educate the children to become patriotic members of the commonwealth, filled with pride in its past and active confidence in its future.

The teacher or student who can grow eloquent over the new authorized school "History of Canada," must have considerably more appreciation for dry facts than the present writer, who, agreeing with Macaulay that facts are the mere dross of history, is unable to appreciate history in the form of an abridged encyclopedia. The plan of having a text-book on Canadian history that should be accepted in all the provinces and treat the subject from a national rather than from a provincial standpoint was a happy one, and Mr Patterson, of Montreal, the secretary of the committee formed for the purpose, deserves credit for his indefatigable work. A competition was announced in July, 1893, the sum of \$2,000 for prizes having been contributed by the various provincial governments, and when it closed on July 1st, 1895, fifteen manuscripts were in hand. That by Mr. W. H. P. Clement was selected and published, and, as the title-page asserts, it has been authorized as a school text-book in five provinces and in the territories. The prize is one well worth competing for.

In criticizing Mr. Clement's book one must not forget that it was written to order, and that it was also cut and sliced and modified to suit the views of the critics in the different provinces. The revising process has been completed and the book is rather like a chain with every third or fourth link left out. This mutilation is not Mr. Clement's work, but he is yet responsible for the product. His name is on the title-page of a history of Canada which lacks coherence, unity, style and imagination.

Chapter I. deals with the discoverers of Canada, and here two faults may be pointed out. In the first place, the opening chapter should have dealt with Canada's present material position, her status as a nation, and her system of government. If a teacher

wished to tell a pupil all about a waggon, he would not first go through the history of vehicles, then over the different parts of the waggon, and finally present the whole object. Why should he proceed thus with a country any more than with a waggon? The opening sentences of this first chapter are as follows:

"The period from the fifth to the fifteenth century is known in European history as the middle ages. During all these years, petty nobles with their bands of feudal retainers fought continually with each other for possession of the soil of Europe. Might was right, etc."

The author would not have done much worse nor conveyed less to a child's mind had he printed these opening sentences in Hebrew. What does a child of twelve know of "middle ages" and "feudal retainers"? The second fault of the first chapter, which is present more or less throughout the book, is that the paragraphs lack connection and relation. To see and recognize this the chapter itself must be read. The other parts of the book are not all as weak as the opening chapter; but it must be confessed that the faults which mar this chapter mar the book as a whole, and that it is not a text-book that will interest and instruct children. An occasional clever teacher who has such writers as Parkman in his library, by outside reading and common sense may so supplement the text-book as to give his pupils an insight into Canadian history, but this book alone will be no inspiration.

Mr. B. A. Hinsdale, in a recent work "How to study and teach History," remarks that history is "man-picturing," and says: "To the common mind there is far more energy in a man or a life than in an idea or a creed." The editor of the International Educational Series, in which Mr. Hinsdale's book appears, says in his introduction to it: "History deals with the will-power of man and moves chiefly in the province of motives and purposes, and only secondarily in the province of mere mechanical causation." Neglecting such well known principles, Mr. Clement puts no heroes in his book. His characters are wooden effigies, to be wheeled on to his dingy stage for a moment, made to perform one or two mechanical movements, and then shoved off at the opposite wing. For example, such soldiers as Wolfe and Montcalm are never praised; their characters are not analyzed, no hints given of motives, weaknesses or virtues. A

slight attempt is made to describe the brilliant qualities of Brock, but it is weak and ineffective. Nowhere are facts presented in a picturesque manner. Sometimes there might be difficulty in doing so, but occasionally the subject lends itself to such treatment.

But the great point upon which Mr. Patterson the secretary of the committee in his introduction lays stress is

"that the object of the author has been so to converge his narrative as to direct the mind of the reader to the federation of the provinces under the British North America Act of 1867."

It was indeed proper that Mr. Clement should have had such a laudable object in his mind, but it is a regrettable fact that he has failed to effect it. After searching the book carefully, the writer has not been able to find more than a dozen lines devoted to the advantages and possibilities of confederation. Only a meagre portion of the volume relates to confederation and the post-confederation period. On comparison of this history with Dr. Bourinot's recent "Story of Canada" and with Mr. Roberts' new History of Canada, it is found that to these events Mr. Clement devotes 36 pages out of 341, Dr. Bourinot 77 pages out of 449 and Mr. Roberts 107 pages out of 441. Or to put the comparison in another way, Mr. Clement devotes to confederated Canada about a tenth of his book, Dr. Bourinot a sixth and Mr. Roberts a quarter. There is also too little in it about Canada's natural resources, and her material and educational progress. Her mineral deposits, forest wealth, fisheries, agriculture, great railways, system of canals, and mercantile fleet are scarcely noticed. The perspective is throughout defective. The subject is treated chronologically, but due proportion between insignificant and important events is not maintained. Small men are dealt with almost as fully as great men. Sometimes a single paragraph will contain references to half-a-dozen different characters, and to several occurrences between which the relation would certainly not be clear to the schoolboy's mind. A notable example of this is the paragraph on the Acadians, p. 68.

While in some details the book is inaccurate, it is more trustworthy than Mr. Roberts' book. For a calm, uncritical, lawyer-like presentation of the leading facts in Canada's history

it is admirable; as a book to interest the young and the occasional reader of history, it cannot be other than a failure.

JOHN A. COOPER.

A History of Canada. By Charles G. D. Roberts. Toronto; George N. Morang. 1897. Pp. xi; 493.

Mr. Roberts has the instincts, but not the training of an historian. He has written what is probably from a literary standpoint the most attractive history of Canada which has yet appeared. He has a good sense of proportion, and he sees rightly that a history of Canada ought to occupy itself largely with the events that led to the formation of Canada, in the present-day meaning of the word, and with those which have occurred since the Dominion was created. The picturesque French *régime* has been a pitfall for most historians of Canada. Champlain, Frontenac, Laval, Montcalm, are figures that lend themselves easily to dramatic effects. The result has usually been that this early history has received undue attention, while more sober but equally important features have been neglected. The fifteen years after the close of the American Revolutionary war evolved issues as great almost as the earlier struggles for supremacy between France and Great Britain. The future of the whole western country hung in the balance. Yet the average person knows almost nothing about the aims which Dorchester and Simcoe had before them. Mr. Roberts himself does not dwell upon this period as he might well have done, but he does preserve a due proportion between the earlier and later history, and in this sets a good example for future historians. He shows the true historical instinct too in describing the social life of the people.

Mr. Roberts, however, is not a trained historian, and he falls into deplorable blunders. He allows his undoubted patriotism to warp his historical judgment. In his view national honour requires the positive assertion that John Cabot landed first at some point of Canadian territory, and he gives a definiteness to Cabot's work that the scholar, who has puzzled over the hazy records, will envy. He rejects all the claims to Norse remains in any part of the United States, but looks kindly upon the "Norse

Rock" at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A formidable list of mistakes of fact, in addition to errors of judgment, might be drawn up. He misapprehends many of the features of the Canadian constitution, and his historical background for Canada is woefully defective when he represents the seigneurs in 1855 as being compensated by a "provincial" government which did not come into existence until twelve years later. It is in regard to European history, however, that the want of historical training becomes most apparent. He pictures English ships in the reign of Henry VIII batteling with the ships of Spain in the tropics, and he represents Frobisher and Drake as stimulated by previous English circumnavigation of the globe, when in fact Drake, in his expedition of 1577, was the first Englishman to accomplish it. These things show that Mr. Roberts has no firm grasp of historical relations and emphasize the truth that to the amateur there are many lurking dangers in the field of history.

In other ways, too, Mr. Roberts mars his work. The historical spirit is calm and impartial. His book is not. Throughout there is a prejudiced, boastful spirit, quite in the vein of some of the jingo school-books of the United States. To say the least, it is not dignified to speak of the political proposals of another country as "colossal audacity," and Canada does not need to have her resources described in the vaunting spirit of an immigration pamphlet. Mr. Roberts' cheerful optimism is undoubtedly an error in the right direction. It is better to glow with patriotism and hope than to be cynical and without faith in the future. Excess, however, invariably begets reaction. Too many unfulfilled prophecies have already been recorded, and our historians, least of all, should wander in the paths of rhetoric. Mr. Roberts has given us an extremely readable book. With careful revision and excision it could be made the best short history of Canada that we have.

The Works of Francis Parkman. Champlain edition. Twenty volumes. Illustrated. Boston : Little, Brown and Company, 1897.

Mr. Parkman's publishers hope that this edition, limited to twelve hundred copies, will prove to be definitive. This can

hardly be, however. Parkman has become classical, and his readers will not be satisfied until they have an edition in which notes are given correcting errors and indicating the changes that later research necessitates. For instance, since Parkman wrote, the whole topography of the Huron country has been revised, and the maps of "The Jesuits in North America" are now inaccurate and out of date. Parkman himself planned to rewrite his books and to connect them in one organic whole, which they certainly are not now. Each work as it originally appeared was complete in itself, and this of course involved some repetition. Parkman's style changed as he matured. There are too many "purple patches" in the earlier works, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" and "The Pioneers of France in the New World," and the better literary taste which is conspicuous in "Montcalm and Wolfe" would have led him to amend these passages.

Allowing for all such defects it is yet a noble monument that Parkman has reared for himself, and these beautiful volumes are worthy of their subject. The illustrations are for the most part portraits, some of them hitherto unpublished, and in mechanical execution they fittingly ornament the text. To the text itself no editorial work of any kind has been added. Mr. John Fiske writes an appreciative introduction, in which he ranks Parkman with Herodotus, Thucydides and Gibbon. Probably to most of us this will seem to claim too much. It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. Fiske says, that Parkman made fruitful history out of what had been hitherto "an uncouth and howling wilderness in the world of literature"; yet in unity of style, in dignity of theme, and in political acumen, Parkman's work must be accounted inferior to at least two of these masters. Even when this is said he must still be given high rank as the most thorough, creative, and heroic of American historians. The word heroic really belongs to Parkman. Mr. Fiske describes the conditions under which he laboured. He had an overstrained nervous organism, and his eyesight so troubled him that a part of "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" was written with closed eyes, the lines on the paper being indicated by wires. At this time he could not work continuously for more than half an hour. At first he wrote but six

lines a day, but his health improved and his later work was less hampered, though he had always discouragements that would have checked any but a man of iron will. The one great advantage that he had was abundant means. He was thus able to accumulate a vast quantity of manuscript material which is now among the treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Fiske finds the great secret of Parkman's charm in his sympathy with nature. An enthusiastic horticulturist, he had a keen eye for the delights of open-air life, and probably it was this that attracted him to the adventurous pioneers who lived in the Canadian forests. He had studied the Indian too on his native heath and had learned to respect him. The glamour of the forest life never leads Parkman to idealize the Indian. Fidelity to nature is his obvious aim in descriptions both of scenes and of men.

In private life, we believe, Parkman disclaimed the epithet often used of him as "the Puritan historian." No doubt there was in him none of the stern intolerance which the word "Puritan" suggests. It does not appear in his writings that he had strong theological convictions. Yet he had inherited the Puritan tradition, and this was apparent in his attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church. He could not help laughing at it in his sleeve. Mr. Freeman has said rightly that to ridicule is fatal to the historian, and he advised "Johnny" Green to shake off this tendency. Parkman is too fair-minded, one may say that he is too much of a gentleman, openly to laugh at the asceticism and outward devotion of the Catholic founders of New France, yet he describes their actions in a tone of amused superiority, and in doing so loses some of the historian's power to interpret human thought and action. The same defect appears in so great a master as Gibbon too, but it must be recognized as a limitation.

Cabot's Discovery of North America, by G. E. Weare. London, John Macqueen. 1897. Pp. x, 343.

When did John Cabot discover America? by Henry Harrisse. "The Forum," June, 1897, republished with appendices under the title of *The Discovery of America by John Cabot*. London, B. F. Stevens. Pp. 47.

John Cabot, by the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava ; Scribner's Magazine, July, 1897.

The Home of the Cabots, by Senator H. Cabot Lodge ; Nineteenth Century, May, 1897.

Fourth Centenary of the Voyage of John Cabot in 1497, by Sir Clements Markham ; Geographical Journal, June, 1897.

Cabot's Voyages, a lecture, by the Right Rev. Bishop Howley. St. John's, N.F., 1897. Pp. 39.

The Discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot, 1497, by His Honour Judge Prowse. St. John's, N.F., 1897. Pp. 10.

Presidential Address on Cabot's Landfall, by the Most Reverend Archbishop O'Brien, D.D. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897. Ottawa, J. Durie & Son.

Cabot Bibliography, by George Parker Winship. Published by the Providence, R. I., Public Library, 1897.

The past year has been very prolific in Cabot literature, as might have been expected. The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the mainland of this continent was celebrated at Halifax, at St. John's, Newfoundland, and at Bristol, England. The inauguration of the movement is due to the Royal Society of Canada, and indeed that Society would have failed to justify its existence if it had allowed the first fact in the history of British America to remain unnoted, and the memory of the man who first landed on our north-eastern coast to continue in obscurity.

In this notice it is not proposed to attempt any solution of the vexed question of the landfall, but rather to give an account of the exceedingly interesting discussions in which so many Canadian writers have taken an important part. The newspapers were full of communications of varying merit as the date of the celebration drew near, but those who were interested observed with amused wonder that, while an acrimonious warfare was being waged in the press of St John's, the press and people of Cape Breton went on their way with calm indifference to the whole subject. Labrador, the third suggested place of landfall, could not have been more tranquil, save that one man, at Sydney,

who had apparently come across the question in the newspapers of the outer world, mildly intervened to select a new cape as a suitable one for Cabot's descent.

The only important volume of the year is Mr. G. E. Weare's *Cabot's Discovery of North America*. Mr. Weare is an antiquarian thoroughly conversant with all matters concerning Bristol. We in America may dispute where John Cabot landed, and Mr. Weare will not be concerned. He indeed summarizes the controversy very well, but is content with the indisputable fact that Bristol was the point of departure, and that it was a Bristol ship—if such a cock-boat as the *Matthew* may be called a ship—manned by a Bristol crew which pre-empted for England a claim in the New World. The volume contains a very useful collection of the important original documents bearing on the question, and these, when necessary, are translated into English, so that anyone who is unable to purchase Mr. Harrisson's valuable but costly volumes will find in this one book, at a moderate price, the charters, the letters, and the extracts from the old chronicles around which the controversy of the last two years has been raging. Mr. Weare's strength is in his great familiarity with the records of Bristol, and his contribution to the subject is, in this respect, of special value. He has given a full statement of the facts relating to the manuscript chronicle formerly in possession of the Fust family, which is interesting as fixing the precise day—May 2nd, 1497—of the departure of the *Matthew* from Bristol, somewhat vaguely given in the other chronicles as “the beginning of May.” Mr. Weare has read all the literature of the subject without omitting the contributions of the Canadian and Newfoundland scholars. The book contains useful illustrations and can well be recommended as a handy manual on the subject.

The important position assigned to the Fust papers, by Mr. Weare, brought out Mr. Harrisson who, in a supplement to his article published in the *Forum*, challenged, with characteristic love of paradox, not only the date of discovery and the date of departure but the name of the vessel as well. He imported Thomas Chatterton into the controversy and attributed all these details of Cabot's voyages to his interpolations and forgeries

inserted in the old records at Bristol. Mr. Harrisse had previously been exercised about the mention of the Fust papers in the article "Bristol" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. That article was written by some one more familiar with Bristol than with the Cabot question and contained some serious mistakes. Mr. Weare's book became the occasion of an explosion of iconoclastic zeal and the columns of *Notes and Queries* for several weeks were the arena of a sharp discussion about the Bristol records and Chatterton's forgeries in which Mr. Weare and Mr. Prowse the younger (the latter a rising scholar, a native of Newfoundland of whom we hope to hear more) took part on one side and Mr. Harrisse on the other.

As the time for the commemoration approached, Mr. Harrisse published an article in the *Forum* for June summarizing the chief novelty of his last volume "John Cabot," the contention, namely, that the landfall could not have been so late as June 24, and must have been a month earlier. Inasmuch as he also maintained that the landfall occurred upon the coast of Labrador—Northern Labrador, between Hamilton Inlet and Hudson's Strait—it is clear, to Canadians at least who know something of that region, that the two propositions are mutually destructive, and therefore they need not be discussed here. Mr. Harrisse afterwards republished his article as a separate pamphlet. He had criticised Mr. S. E. Dawson's Royal Society papers in his main article, but in an appendix he attempted to demonstrate mathematically that Mr. Dawson's views as to magnetic variation were erroneous. He showed logarithmically that to start from lat. 53° on the coast of Ireland and miss Cape Race required an angular deviation of 29° . His calculations, however, contained serious errors, and moreover, a chart, a ruler, and a protractor will prove, what a quick eye will at once see on a map, that the angle is really between 12° and 13° . The question in dispute will no doubt receive further elucidation in the next volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, for on the occasion of the commemoration at Halifax Mr. Dawson read an elaborate paper which has not yet appeared in print.

In Scribner's Magazine for July, 1897, we see with pleasure the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava taking part in this tournament on the field of Canadian history. He touches nothing which by his graceful style he does not adorn, for he has never forgotten, in the cares of state, to cultivate continuously the gift of letters which is in him by natural inheritance. In that article he does not undertake a profound examination of the more disputed points of the controversy, but gives an admirable summary of the state of geographical knowledge in the period just preceding the discovery of America. He shows how the science of the Greeks, emerging from mediæval mists, had touched first the lofty heads of such intellectual giants as Friar Bacon, Cardinal d'Ailly and Albertus Magnus, and then, in the revival of a general taste for letters that was stimulated by the invention of printing, was commencing to light up the lower levels. No doubt much is due to the Arabian learning—no doubt Edrisi was far in advance of the geographical knowledge of the western nations; but he was also in advance of that of the Arabians as well, as anyone may see who studies the Arabian maps. Then again we must remember that Bacon, Ailly and Albertus Magnus were churchmen, that in the Franciscan monastery of La Rabida the despairing Columbus received succour and encouragement, and that a Dominican friar, Diego de Deza, was influential in securing his ultimate success at court.

The voyages of the Northmen recall Lord Dufferin's early studies, and he is at home in discussing them. He seems to incline to the later and more sceptical view which would place the extreme limit of their voyages at the north of Newfoundland. That view is probably a revulsion from the indiscreet certainty manifest in the statue of Leif Erickson at Boston, but we think it will scarcely prevail ultimately. These Norse voyages are most enticing. Everything seems so clear until we try to grasp the reality behind those vivid details, and find it elude our intellectual efforts. The subject is like the number of the beast in the book of Revelation. Everybody is sure about it until he sits down to count it up.

The reading of Lord Dufferin is very wide, and he brings light to his subject from all sources. He has however followed

Anspach too readily in crediting his unsupported story about John Cabot having negotiated a treaty between Denmark and England concerning the disputes in Iceland. There is really no evidence whatever for the statement, and Mr. Harrisson has searched the records of Denmark and the Hansa League in vain for any trace of it. On the other hand we have the positive statement of Raimondo da Soncino, who was his fellow-countryman and acquaintance, that John Cabot was poor and a foreigner and that his discovery would not have been believed but for the testimony of his English crew.

Lord Dufferin has well summed up one of the vexed questions of American history—the naming of the continent after Amerigo Vespucci, a man who was hardly a sailor; but with justice he exculpates Vespucci from all responsibility for that accident of an accident. He concludes his interesting paper by reflections upon the results which might have followed had the northern part of the continent fallen under the dominion of the Spaniards or Portuguese instead of France and England. He also gives a very interesting opinion, elicited from Nansen, that there is no reason to suppose that the climate of Greenland was milder in the period of the Norse voyages than it is now. No authority could be higher. On the question of the place of landfall Lord Dufferin has been misled by confident assertions of the existence of an "immemorial tradition" for Bonavista. In his speech at the unveiling of the Cabot monument at Bristol he modified this by saying that Cabot sighted on June 24, 1497 "the cape of Bona-vista or whatever point on the coast of Newfoundland, Labra-dor or Cape Breton the learned may determine to be the land-fall." His lordship has not been a diplomatist in vain.

In the Nineteenth Century for May, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge entered the arena discoursing upon heraldry, and quoting the *Armorial de la Noblesse de Languedoc*, by *Louis de La Roque*. Irresistibly the question rises to our lips—*mais—mais que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?* A stern Republican senator, zealous to sweep off this continent the last traces of monarchical tyranny, and now donning the fripperies of effete feudalism! Yet so it is, and he leads us off into fresh

pastures ; for this poor John Cabot, born and buried no one knows when or where, was, through his eldest son Lewis, the progenitor of the Cabots of Massachusetts. Mr. Lodge passes lightly over the comparatively trivial matters we have been disputing about during all these years ; dismisses Pedro de Ayala and Stowe with their " loose statements " about Cabot being born in Genoa ; waives aside Tarducci with his Italian surnames plausibly similar in sound and tells us that the Cabots or Chabots are a numerous family and that their home was on the island of Jersey.

And in truth it seems simple as stated. In the first place Cabot is the same as Chabot, and Chabot is the name of a fish. As there were " salmons in both " of Fluellen's rivers in Monmouth and Macedon, so with Chabots the same uniformity exists. There are Chabots in France and Chabots in Jersey. These all have the same arms, three chabots on the shield, a scallop shell for a crest and *Semper cor, caput, Cabot* for a motto. The family, we learn, was originally Norse and was settled in Poitou as early as A. D. 1040. It is connected with many noble families, and one of its scions, Henri de Chabot, married into the princely house of the Rohans, whose arms are quartered with those of the Chabots in Jersey, as in France and Massachusetts. We need scarcely add that a Cabot was among the companions of William the Conqueror, for most of the good American families crossed at the same time.

All this is interesting as heraldry ; but coming closer to the point Mr. Lodge finds, in Sebastian Cabot's contradictory statements as to his birth-place, proof that his father had connections of some sort in England. This surmise it is which, later, develops into the assertion that John Cabot was born in Jersey and naturally returned to the country of his birth to obtain a charter and fit out his expedition, although Spain or Portugal at that time afforded better opportunities for such enterprises. If, however, that had been the case he wou'd have spelled his name in the Jersey way in his petition for a charter ; but he spelled it Cabotto and described himself as a Venetian. This alone is fatal to Mr. Lodge's theory. John, as we all know, had three sons,

Lewis, Sebastian and Sancus and the *Armorial de la Noblesse* is cited to prove that Lewis settled in France, in the Cevennes, and had a son Pierre from whom the family is traced to date. This Pierre left a will in which he stated that he was the grandson of John the navigator. As the American Cabots are descended from the Jersey Cabots and Lewis is said to have settled in France, it does not appear how they can be descended from him. It is also clear that only those who are descended from Henri de Chabot, the French nobleman who married the heiress of the Rohans, have a right to quarter the Rohan arms. The Jersey origin of the American branch would rather indicate their descent from the same stock as the numerous Cabots now said to be living in two parishes on that island.

The ichthyology of this story is weak ; for the chabot is not a sea fish but a river fish, and is found in the brooks and streams of North America, Europe and Northern Asia ;—there are chabots in them all and there are chabots in the river St. Charles, near Quebec ; for Mr. Montpetit in his *Poissons d'eau douce* says he caught them there. It is the same deadly monotony which struck Fluellen in the case of "salmons." The fishes on the Chabot shield, being therefore fresh and not salt water fishes, do not in any way demand a Jersey origin. Moreover, the Italian correspondents contemporary with Cabot all claim him as an Italian, and, instead of his going first to England, it is recorded by Ayala that he had previously attempted to get up expeditions in Seville and Lisbon ; and lastly, Mr. Harrisson, who breaks the eggs in every mare's nest he does not himself discover, has searched in the place indicated for the will of the aforesaid Pierre, which is asserted to contain a reference to John the navigator, and has found no such document, no notary of the name given, and no trace of any such family.

Of a different order is the paper read by Sir Clements Markham before the Royal Geographical Society, on April 12th, 1897, and published in the Geographical Journal for June. He had, in the introduction to the *Journal of Christopher Columbus* issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1892, treated of the Cabot voyages, and he then re-published all the more important contemporary

documents; but he now returns to the subject and no one is better able to discuss it than he. In the interval his estimate of the character of Sebastian Cabot has been greatly lowered, and he points out with reason that we are now groping in the dark amid doubtful materials because an undutiful son ignored the achievements of the great explorer and tried too successfully to appropriate his renown.

Sir Clements Markham dwells upon a point which has been somewhat overlooked—the maritime energy of Bristol and the enterprise of some of its citizens whose names appear on the records as co-operating in the second expedition. It seems, however, a little strong to say that Columbus learned from English sailors the management of an ocean voyage. Columbus did, most probably, make a voyage from Bristol to Iceland, though it is doubted by Winsor; but voyages from southern Europe to the Azores and Canary Islands were frequent, and he might have easily learned from Spanish and Portuguese sailors to make ocean voyages as long as from Bristol to Iceland. The route to Iceland from Norway had been frequented by the Norsemen for 500 years.

The treatment of the subject in this paper is very thorough and it is in many respects the best of all the papers now under review. Sir Clements Markham in the *Hakluyt* volume had placed the landfall of 1497 at Cape Breton, but in this paper he wavers somewhat in favour of Bonavista. He thinks that "for those who can place credence in the statements of his son Sebastian, he [John Cabot] passed Cape Race in thick weather and made a landfall at Cape Breton on June 24. For those who reject the evidence of the map of 1544 and its legend, John Cabot made a landfall at or near Bonavista bay, not necessarily on June 24; then coasted along the south coast of Newfoundland until he was in sight of Cape Breton, returning nearer to the land so as to pass the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon on his right hand."

Sir Clements Markham sees no evidence to prove that Sebastian Cabot was on either the first or the second voyage to America and, in revulsion from the extravagant claims set up for him by Biddle and others, has come to believe that he was a mendacious impostor. We cannot think that possible, for Sebastian Cabot could not have deceived to so great an extent such excellent judges of men as the statesmen at the courts of Spain and

England. It was not an age of candour, and Sebastian Cabot was the child of his age, no better and no worse than his surroundings.

Sir Clements Markham gives to Mr. S. E. Dawson the credit of having been the first to point out, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada in 1894, the important bearing of the variation of the compass upon Cabot's course and consequent landfall. He differs, however, from Mr. Dawson as to Scatari island which he thinks cannot have been Cabot's St. John, while he concurs in believing that, as a landfall, Labrador is out of the question. The paper is an excellent and thorough one. That, however, might have been expected from a writer so well equipped upon geographical questions as the President of the Royal Geographical Society.

We shall not dwell long upon the contributions of the Right Rev. Bishop Howley and Judge Prowse to this controversy. They have been conceived in a style unsuited to the discussion of a purely historical question. Both writers warmly insist on the existence of "an immemorial tradition" of a landfall on Newfoundland, but the first claims the tradition for Cape St. John and the second for Bonavista. These points are 140 miles apart and opinions so divergent cannot be "immemorial traditions." Only two other Newfoundland writers have to our knowledge treated (during recent years) this subject; one holds to a landfall at Cape Breton and the other advocates the claims of Labrador. This tradition wants all the necessary marks of authority. It is not immemorial, for the map of 1544 antedates it by nearly 100 years. It is not general, for it was unknown on the continent of Europe and in fact it is not at the present moment universally held even on the island of Newfoundland. The statue of Leif Erickson in Boston and the three cent jubilee postage stamp of Newfoundland commemorate very problematical occurrences; to wit, the landing of the Northmen in Boston and the landfall of Cabot at Bonavista.

The last paper on our list is the presidential address at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in June last. This has been published separately in advance of the issue of the volume

of transactions. There are some novelties in the address. The landfall is, for the first time, supposed to have been inside the Gulf of St. Lawrence; at Mount Squirrel, thirty-five miles down on the inner shore of the island of Cape Breton. By going inside the gulf for a landfall we make Prince Edward Island possible as Cabot's Island of St. John, and Cabot is then supposed to have sailed round the gulf through Northumberland Strait inside of Anticosti and out at Belle-Isle, in this way becoming the discoverer of Old Canada nearly forty years before Cartier. The difficulty of this theory is that it makes Cabot sail between St. Paul and Cape Ray without seeing either,—a very difficult feat considering the height of the land. To suppose that Cabot sailed across the Atlantic and, without seeing land, accidentally hit the very eye of a strait only forty miles wide between the island of St. Paul and Cape Ray, so as not to see land upon either side, is an undue strain upon faith. A most original and ingenious argument is also advanced to prove that the landfall was about lat. 48° or 47° . It is based on the supposed fact that Soncino thought the great bend of the Tanais was south of Bristol, and that it was so put down by Ptolemy. The contrary is, however, the case, for in Ptolemy's Atlas the great bend of the Tanais is at 56° or $4^{\circ} 30'$ north of Bristol. The argument, therefore, would, if sound, work the reverse way of its author's intention and would exclude both Cape Breton and Newfoundland as possible landfalls, and of necessity Prince Edward Island would be out of the question.

The long and very active discussion of the Cabot voyages carried on throughout the last twenty years has not been without result. At first everything was in dispute. Now the years 1497 and 1498 are generally accepted and the two voyages are distinguished one from the other. The nationality of both Cabots is ascertained to the satisfaction of nearly everybody, while if the landfall is still the subject of controversy, we may content ourselves by calling to mind that only within the last few years has the landfall of Columbus at Watling's Island met with general acceptance, and although scholars almost universally have adopted it, there are some who are still willing to go over the whole controversy again and start a new island as

cheerfully as many are willing to start a new cape for John Cabot to have landed upon.

The year 1892 was Columbus year; 1897 was Cabot year. The disputed points regarding the Cabots have given rise to an extensive literature. Mr. Winship is librarian of the well-known Carter-Brown Library at Providence, R. I., and besides the Providence libraries he has consulted the Boston Public Library and the library of Harvard University. The division "A" of his bibliography has about one hundred entries, and is devoted to the sources of information regarding the Cabots. It includes both works printed in the sixteenth century and later books in which Cabot documents appear. Section "B" contains "books and lesser writings which relate to John and Sebastian Cabot or to the controversies which are associated with their names." There are valuable bibliographical notes to both sections. The lists of works are probably as complete as they can be made in America.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The original French, Latin and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes. Illustrated by Portraits, Maps and Facsimiles. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. III to vol. X: Acadia, Quebec, Hurons, Cape Breton. Cleveland, Ohio: The Burrows Brothers' Company. 1897.

The stupendous task of reprinting the whole of the Jesuit Relations, together with an English translation now made for the first time, is progressing steadily. Two volumes appeared in 1896, eight in 1897, and it is understood to be the hope of the publishers to issue a volume monthly until the work is completed. It will probably run into seventy volumes. Mr. Thwaites and his staff have certainly undertaken a huge labour.

As yet no new material has been printed. First we have in the volumes now under review the completion of the narrative of the abortive Jesuit mission in Nova Scotia. In volume IV the scene changes to Quebec, and the greater part of the subsequent

volumes are devoted to the reports of the superior, Father LeJeune, and to those of his subordinate, Father Brébeuf, the leader of the Huron mission. The writings of Father Brébeuf are of the utmost importance for the early history of the province of Ontario, the scene of the most dramatic episode of the Jesuit missions in North America; yet they have never before been done into English in their entirety as they will be when this work is completed. The late Mr. James McFie Hunter, of Barrie, Ontario, began this needed work of translation, and what he did is now printed by Mr. Thwaites, but he died before finishing his translation.

A contrast is observable in the estimate of the character of the Indians by the Jesuit fathers. Father Biard, in Acadia or Nova Scotia, praises the Indians of that region. The good father does for the Indians what Tacitus did for the Germans. He idealizes them, and is always extolling their virtues to rebuke the corresponding vices of his own countrymen. Indian laziness is only happy content and freedom from the French hurry and worry. The superstition which led the Indians to decorate the tombs of their dead with their most valuable possessions is to Father Biard freedom from the French vice of "cursed avarice." Brébeuf on the shores of the Georgian Bay paints the Hurons, on the contrary, in rather dark colours. It may be a difference in character between the aborigines of Nova Scotia and those of Ontario, or it may be a difference of temperament in the interpreters of Indian traits. Father Biard was very human. His writings show that he had a feeling for the beauty of nature and he had, too, great common sense. He combats the idea that it is enough to baptize the Indians, in order to make them Christians, and says that they must first be taught and trained (III: 141, 149). Brébeuf's mould was that of the fanatic and would-be martyr; he courted death. His ideals to the average good man will seem strained, his sympathy with human nature slight. His perfect sincerity was to have a terrible trial and to bring him to a martyr's death. With all his virtues he was wanting in common sense. The following passage could never have been written by Biard:

" Father Daniel hit upon the plan of quieting a little child, crying in its mother's arms, by having it make the sign of the Cross. And indeed, one day when I had just been teaching the catechism to them in our cabin, this child made us laugh ; its mother was carrying it in her arms and was going out, but as soon as she reached the door, it began to cry so that she was compelled to turn back . . . I then got it to make . . . the sign of the Cross and it immediately began to laugh and to jump for joy. I saw the same child, another time, crying hard because it had had its finger frozen, but it quieted down and laughed as soon as they had it make the sign of the Cross." (X : 20-24).

Mr. Thwaite's tenth volume leaves us with the tragedy of the Huron mission still undreamed of. In future volumes the tale will unfold itself with the dramatic completeness of a play.

No doubt the greater part of the material contained in these Relations is authentic and trustworthy, and they certainly form a chapter in the history of the Society of Jesus of fascinating interest. Our knowledge of the natives of this country would be much less were it not for the acute and trained observers who wrote the Relations. These records have, however, greater faults than that of sometimes being merely tedious. M. de Rochemonteix has told us with great candour that the reports of the missionaries were edited and expurgated in France. Only the saintly and heroic aspects were permitted to appear. The *naïveté* of the Relations has therefore been spoiled ; yet withal, what would we not give for just such experiences chronicled by Augustine and his fellow-monks of the Roman mission to England ?

Of the editor's work on this edition one must speak in terms of praise so uniform as to appear undiscriminating. The translations are improving as the work goes on and the trifling mistakes in the notes are fewer. The editorial staff has now been strengthened by adding the well-known bibliographer, Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the Lenox library. If querulous criticism may be offered one would suggest that the numerous errors which the original writers made might be pointed out in notes. The headings of the pages leave something to be desired. It would be a great convenience if the legend at the top of each page told something of what is to be found in the text. In any case the old error of calling what is really Brébeuf's Relation by the name of Le Jeune, Brébeuf's superior, ought not to be continued throughout.

True Stories of New England Captives, carried to Canada during the old French and Indian wars. By C. Alice Baker. Cambridge, (Mass.): The Author. 1897. Pp. 407. (Illustrated.)

In examining any work which represents years of solid research, one is curious about the author's motive in undertaking it. This may have been the desire, in hackneyed phrase, "to extend the field of knowledge," or it may have been to carry out a favourite hobby. More rarely the study has been set afoot by some impulse given to the writer's imagination. In Miss Baker's case, one is pleased to recognize the latter and higher force. Her preface without waste of language puts the reader at once in possession of her main idea.

"As often as I have read in the annals of the early settlers of New England the pathetic words 'Carried captive to Canada whence they came not back,' I have longed to know the fate of the captives. The wish has become a purpose and I have taken upon myself a mission to open a door for their return."

This statement claims attention at the outset because it gives a clue to the volume. Miss Baker treats of typical captives, one by one, for the sake of presenting their sufferings, their fortitude, and the other qualities or events which give the flavour of romance to history. Politics and social usage are, of course, involved, but her main design is to portray persons. She is not tempted to turn aside even by the great race-contest for the control of North America.

Reading between the lines one also discerns, or thinks he can discern, a slight outcrop of family feeling. For instance, Miss Baker, in her essay on Hertel de Rouville, takes a view of his character which will hardly find favour with the patriotic antiquary of New England. With graceful *pereiflage* she thus accounts for her lenience. During the Deerfield raid, in February, 1703-4, a wounded French officer was brought into John Sheldon's house where the captives were awaiting orders to march.

"In his agony he called piteously for water. Mrs. Catlin raised his head and tenderly moistened his fevered lips. Reproached by a neighbour for this kindness to their enemy, she answered 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.' When the captives were gathered together for the march, Mrs. Catlin was left behind—tradition says, in return for her compassion. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin. I like to think that the wounded officer may have been Hertel de Rouville's young

brother, and that that humane act, distilled through the blood of succeeding generations, has inspired me with the wish to present the Hertels in a more favourable light than that in which we, of New England, are accustomed to view them."

One feels sure that "distilled through the blood of succeeding generations" implies descent from Mrs. Catlin, and there are many touches which go to show that Miss Baker, whether by origin or by local interest, is in close sympathy with her heroes and heroines. We do not mean that she is their unswerving panegyrist, but that her sympathy has made long toil a labour of love.

One other general feature of this book should be emphasized, viz., Miss Baker's friendly feeling towards the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada, past and present. She inscribes her volume to them in the following words :

"To the memory of those nuns and priests who sheltered and protected our captives in Canada, and to their successors by whom I have been kindly helped in my work, these narratives are affectionately dedicated."

When one adds that her first pages are occupied with an indictment of the whites for ill-usage of the redskins, it becomes clear that partizanship is excluded. One might search from Florida to Labrador without finding a more fair-minded historian than Miss Baker.

The raids which formed a part of Frontenac's policy are an apt illustration of seventeenth-century morals. In the first half of that age Europe was engaged in a so-called religious war which would disgrace the Matabele or the Afridi. When one meets in the most civilized portion of the world such atrocities as the sack of Magdeburg and the ravages of *condottieri* like Mansfeld and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the massacres of the wilderness seem less remarkable. The capture and destruction of Schenectady, Salmon Falls and Casco Bay are dreadful to look back upon, but the sufferings caused by border warfare affected a smaller proportion of the population than was in South Germany, let us say, swept into the whirlpool of the Thirty Years' War. People whose historical reading is limited to the annals of this continent may be excused for thinking that the utmost bound of cruelty is reached in the stories of war-whoop and tomahawk. The fact is, that the military operations of Europe at about the same period differ from the savagery of Frontenac's band chiefly in grandeur

of scale and in the neglect to protract torture when no ulterior purpose could be served. At the very best, however, the captives were led away from New England under ghastly circumstances. Family and friends had perished under their eyes. Not even Madame de Lafayette, whose grandmother, mother and sister, were, during the terror, guillotined upon the same day, could have been more lacerated. If they survived the long northward march, they found themselves half starved and half-naked in a land where the inhabitants spoke an alien tongue and worshipped according to a rite which New Englanders had been taught to believe idolatrous. Coeur de Lion, André Chénier, Silvio Pellico, surpass these poor settlers in picturesqueness without equalling them in their woes. *A propos* of one Deerfield youth, Samuel Williams, Miss Baker has this passage :

“ I wondered, as I sat there putting the ends of the story together, whether it was all so dreadful to the boy as it seems to us ; whether, as he waded from Jacques LeBer’s house to school, through that Canadian winter, he was ever gay and merry like other boys and snowballed and frolicked on his snowshoes ; or whether the thought of his mother slain, his father far away, his brothers and sisters scattered he knew not where, haunted him day and night. ”

While the mood of this particular youngster cannot be reproduced with certainty, one may be sure that the lot of the ordinary prisoner was far from intolerable. Cervantes toiling in the galleys of Algiers is a captive of one type ; the New Englander detained in Canada is a captive of quite another. The Samuel Williams to whom Miss Baker has just been referring was lodged in the family of the Seigneur de Senneville, the then richest merchant in Montreal. As a probable proselyte he was an object of tender interest and doubtless, when he was docile, received great kindness. In his case the process of conversion was more tedious than usual. Indeed, when his schoolmaster found that Samuel would not voluntarily cross himself, “ he struck him with a cruel whip and made him get down on his knees for an hour. ” After a short course of this nature, the boy gave way for a while, only to resume his Puritanism at the first opportunity. Exchanges and ransoms were often effected and Samuel Williams had a chance to go home. Attempts, both spiritual and temporal, were made to keep him in Montreal. He was threatened with hell if he went back, whereas, if he remained, a pension from the king

and a legacy from LeBer should be his. "It is a relief," says Miss Baker, "to remember that neither promise of preferment nor the fear of poverty on earth and of hell hereafter could keep him from home and native land."

Samuel Williams resisted the Roman Catholic clergy. He is thus an exception to the general rule, that Miss Baker's heroes and heroines remained in Canada and entered the Latin communion. It must be remembered that she deals, not with those who were ransomed or exchanged, but with those who were "carried captive to Canada whence they came not back." A large part of them were deported at an early age and easily fell in with the habits and religious observances of the French. A good many maidens and widows of nubile years received French or Indian husbands. Miss Baker has searched parish registers with diligence and despite, we imagine, many a *cul de sac*, for traces of the children. Occasionally captives struck up a match among themselves. Thus, to take one particularly interesting case, she has found near Oka a farm still inhabited by Jean Baptiste Raizenne, great-great-grandson of Josiah Rising and Abigail Nims. The original grant was made in 1720, and the estate has been held in the family without a break. This same instance shows how difficult the process of identifying the captives has been. Often they were adopted into Indian families and given Indian surnames. Later on the priests added the name of their French godparents, and the baptismal Tom, Dick and Harry of New England yielded to the saints of the calendar. This Abigail Nims

"was baptized as Elizabeth, in Montreal, and was said to be 'living in the cabin of a squaw of the mountain.' Of the Mission of the Mountain and its successive transference to the Sault au Recollet and to the Lake of the Two Mountains I then knew nothing. As I chased her from record to record, the little Elizabeth flitted before me like an elf, appearing as Elizabeth Stebbin, Elizabeth Kanaskwa, Elizabeth Sahiak, Elizabeth T8atog8ach. When I finally ran her down as Elizabeth Naim, married to a fellow-captive, Ignace Raizenne, I had no difficulty in recognizing the two little playmates who were living opposite each other in Deerfield on the morning of February 29th, 1704."

By far the strongest and most important impression which one gathers from Miss Baker's book is that of the unremitting pains taken by priests and nuns to insure the captives' change of

faith. This has already been hinted at in the matter of Samuel Williams. Examples might be indefinitely multiplied were it necessary to prove this point in detail. Miss Baker has a delicate task in holding a fair balance between what is admirable in the Catholic clergy and what is open to some criticism. She quite appreciates the conviction, zeal, and tenderness of those to whom she dedicates her volume. Still she is above cloaking the part of mission priests in the Abenaki raids.

"The scene at Father Thury's mission on the departure of these war-parties was one of great religious excitement. The warriors crowded the chapel, seeking confession and absolution as if going to certain death, and when these savage crusaders, hideous in fresh war-paint, set out from the mission headed by their priest, their women and children threw themselves on their knees before the altar and, relieving each other by detachments, counted their beads continually from daybreak till nightfall, beseeching Jesus, the Saints and the Blessed Virgin in the holy war. The infant towns of eastern New England received a baptism of blood at the hands of the Abenaki converts which was sanctioned and encouraged by their mission priests."

Conduct of this sort Miss Baker classes with the witch persecution of New England as proof of seventeenth-century intolerance. The passage quoted appears in the early part of her essay on Esther Wheelwright, who became Mother Superior of the Ursulines at Quebec. The nurture of this child was very uncommon. A descendant of Oliver Cromwell's friend, John Wheelwright, she was carried off from her home in Wells, Maine, on August 10th, 1703. She was seven years old at the time and remained at an Abenaki wigwam on the Upper Kennebec till she had forgotten her English. After six years in the woods, Father Bigot carried her to Quebec and brought her to the notice of Vaudreuil. She was taken into the governor's family and thence transferred to the *pension* of the Ursulines. Eventually she reached the head of that order in Quebec and represented the community in its dealings with General Murray. A personage of still greater fame in the Canadian church, Joseph-Octave Plessis, was a grandson of Martha French, one of the Deerfield captives who settled at St. Laurent near Montreal. Miss Baker's sketch entitled "A Scion of the Church in Deerfield" gives a very fair account of Plessis' character and career. Of those engaged in the conversion of the captives and in watching their welfare, Father Mariel comes first.

The greater part of Miss Baker's writing is so good that we have small compunction in pointing out a few of the slips incidental to a long and detailed book. Page 9: "In 1498 Sebastian Cabot carried to King Henry the Seventh three savages as trophies of his discoveries in North America." This statement is not in accord with the best recent opinion on the subject of the Cabotian voyages. On page 87 it is said, incorrectly, that Notre Dame, in Montreal, is a cathedral. On page 128 the Jesuit house of Notre Dame des Anges at Quebec is said to have been built "towards the middle of the seventeenth century." If one is looking for a round number it was built much nearer 1625 than 1650. On page 148 a misprint seems to have crept into the account of Captain Stoddard's expedition in 1713. In one sentence the party is made to leave Albany on the 22nd of January, and in the next to arrive at Quebec on the 16th of the same month. On page 82 Jeanne Le Ber is called her father's only daughter, whereas on page 197 she is called his eldest daughter and special reference is made to her other sisters. A similar looseness occurs in regard to Esther Wheelwright who, in a note (p. 50), is said to have spent six years with the savages, while (p. 52) "the five years of forest life" refers to the same period. Miss Baker appears to be a trifle "off her beat" in allusions to European history. On page 155 she begins a paper on John Sheldon with a purple patch about Plymouth. It was not here that "false Philip of Spain on his way to his luckless wedding" landed, but at Southampton. And the Black Prince brought his "royal captives after Poitiers" to Sandwich, not Plymouth. On page 199 Versailles, rather than Fontainebleau, should be taken as the typical seat of Louis XIV's court. Hugh Capet was not "elected king" at Noyon (p. 212) though he was consecrated there. The choice took place at Senlis.

The reader will see that these errata have little bearing on the main theme. One feels much more disposed to congratulate Miss Baker on the whole of her work than to criticize any part of it. The typography and illustrations are admirable and comport well with a piece of investigation which is at once learned, careful and useful.

The Gladwin Manuscripts, with an introduction and a sketch of the conspiracy of Pontiac, by Charles Moor. Lansing, Mich.: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1897. Pp. 84.

This volume contains (1) a sketch of the life of Major Gladwin, the hero of the siege of Detroit, based upon facts ascertained, now for the first time, by the investigations of the author; (2) a paper on *Henry Gladwin and the Conspiracy of Pontiac*, republished from Harper's Magazine for June, 1897; (3) a number of documents (letters, declarations, etc.) bearing upon the siege of Detroit and on Major Gladwin's personal history. Mr. Moor has evidently spared no pains in collecting his facts, and has been successful in throwing some new light, not only upon Gladwin himself, who has hitherto been little more than a name, but also upon the interesting episode of the siege of Detroit.

Henry Gladwin, born in 1730, was a scion of a good English county family. He embraced the profession of a soldier; and, as might have been anticipated from his conduct of the defence of Detroit, had already before that date seen a good deal of Indian warfare. In 1755 he shared in Braddock's expedition, and was wounded in the defeat at Little Meadows. His conduct seems to have attracted the favourable notice of his superior officers. In 1760 he was ordered to take charge of an expedition from New York, by way of Fort Pitt, to relieve Niagara. There he arrived in 1761; and thence, in company with Sir William Johnson, proceeded to Detroit, in August of the same year. Receiving leave of absence he sailed to England and was married on March 30th, 1762. In the following August he was again at Detroit as commandant. It was in the next spring that he received information of the proposed attack of the Indians, not from a beautiful Ojibway girl, as the somewhat romantic story relates to which Parkman has given currency, but more probably, as Mr. Moor points out, from an Ottawa Indian. In the narrative of the siege, the most important new point made by our author is the complicity of the French settlers in the designs of Pontiac.

"It has been assumed," says Mr. Moor, "that the French at Detroit were the victims of the Pontiac conspiracy only to a less degree than were the English. It is true that there were a few prudent French farmers who gave to Gladwin what assistance they could give without drawing down upon them-

selves the enmity of the Indians, but it was generally believed among the French that the English would soon be driven out of New France, and that the French king would again be their monarch. . . . It is not surprising that the French traders and wood-rangers at Detroit should have seized upon Pontiac's war to despoil their ancient enemies and their conquerors of less than three years' standing. The only cause for surprise is that the French did not from the start openly make common cause with Poniac. That they secretly gave aid and encouragement to the Indians was repeatedly charged by Gladwin. The convincing proof of his assertions is to be found in the official reports of inquiries he caused to be held at Detroit during the siege, reports which after more than a century and a quarter of oblivion, have been found and made available by one of Gladwin's descendants.* The problem for Gladwin was to hold out at Detroit until both the French and the Indians could be convinced that the French Government could not assist them and that the peace with England was definite and lasting."

Soon after the conclusion of the siege, Gladwin returned to England. Under date of New York, Oct. 15th, 1764, Gage, the Commander-in-Chief, writes recommending Major Gladwin, whose private affairs are taking him back to England, to the good offices of the Secretary of War. Gladwin's military career, however, had now come to an end. He settled down to the life of an English country gentleman. A draft of a letter written by him to General Gage, from Stubbings, England, in February, 1774, gives a pleasing impression of the man :

"I am prone to thank you for your friendly and good advice, and I begin to think I am as bad a politician as a courtier. To give you an instance of the latter : When I was presented to the King to thank him for the rank he gave me, I was asked how long I had been in town. I replied 'three weeks.' George West, who stood at my elbow, told me I should have said just arrived, but as I went to Court only upon that occasion, and thought it probable that I should never go there again, I conceived there was no harm in speaking the truth.

"In regard to my politics, you find me just as I left you in America, which may suffice to show you that I am not calculated to push myself in the world. Besides I am now engaged in another scene, being very happy in a good . . . wife and two little children, upon a small paternal estate, and am fond of farming and rural amusements. As to company, I keep but little, because I cannot afford to live in the style of my neighbours. Nevertheless I am happy and content. From this account of myself, I daresay you will not be surprised when I tell you that I should prefer a small sinecure government at home to all future expectations in the army."

The impression of Major Gladwin which Mr. Moor's investigations afford us, is that of a brave, prudent, simple and modest English gentleman—an impression certainly not in harmony with the extract from one of Gladwin's letters, printed by Parkman,† in which Gladwin seems to advocate the diabolical plan of exter-

*These documents Mr. Moor has printed in the latter part of his volume.

†*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. II., p. 109.

minating the Indians "by permitting a free sale of rum." But when this passage is read in connection with the context of the whole letter, as contained in the volume under review, one sees that the writer is really urging a peaceful accommodation with the natives, and uses the expression quoted to emphasize the undesirability of entering upon a war of extermination. On the 22nd day of June, 1794, as his monument in Winkeworth church attests, General Gladwin departed this life in the 62nd year of his age.

The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1873.
By Moses Coit Tyler. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897; 2 vols. Pp. xxxii; 522; xx; 526.

History and Historiettes: United Empire Loyalists. By Edward Harris. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897. Pp. 18.

Before the Coming of the Loyalists. By C. Haight. Toronto: Haight & Company, 1897. Pp. 24.

The American Revolution was, in reality, a struggle between two opposing schools of political thought. The revolutionist party in America were, in the first stages of the movement at least, the allies of the whig party in England. As Mr. Lecky has pointed out, when Montgomery fell before Quebec, his death was lamented on the floor of the British House of Commons, as if he had been the most ardent of British patriots. The party favourable to the limitation of the royal prerogative saw, almost gladly, the storm rising in America, for it proved that they were right, and that the policy of the King was unwise and ruinous. The success of the American Revolution was the success also of the whig principle, which in the end prevailed in English political life. The fact, indeed, is that the revolutionists helped to win more for the British, in one sense, than they won for themselves. In England the whig victory meant an executive responsible from day to day to the representatives of the people. In America the executive was modelled upon that of the earlier years of George III, and was given an independence that the Crown has long since lost in England.

Professor Tyler's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the American Revolution. A vast amount of pam-

phlet literature marked the period, and much of it is very good. It was the golden age of the political pamphlet, just as to-day is the age of the newspaper, and Defoe, Swift, Dr. Johnson and other great authors of the eighteenth century lent their genius to this unworthy, if remunerative, form of literary composition. It was also the period of elaborate satire in verse, after the pattern of Juvenal, and of the best epistolary style. All three forms of literature are largely represented in Professor Tyler's volumes. Sermons and songs were also among the forces that went to mould public opinion and in which it has been stereotyped for the instruction of future ages. Professor Tyler has read a huge mass of material for these two volumes, as the bibliography at the end of the second shows, and the preparation has taken him a matter of twenty years. The result of this long and careful labour is a book well thought out, temperate in tone, and indispensable to the student of the period.

The portions of the work that concern this review are the chapters on the loyalist literature, especially that of the later period, when reconciliation with the mother country was no longer possible, and the writers were for the most part future settlers in Canada under the familiar name to us of "United Empire Loyalists." Professor Tyler does full justice to the motives and arguments as well as to the literary attainments of the loyalist writers. He points out that they were by no means the party of negation and obstruction. They, no less than their opponents, saw that reform in the administration of the colonies from England was needed; the difference between the two parties is concisely put by Professor Tyler when he says that the aim of the loyalists was "reform through reconciliation rather than reform through separation." The persecutions that these writers underwent at the hands of the majority in power are not concealed or palliated. Indeed Professor Tyler's sympathies seem almost to be on their side in the struggle. He speaks of the year 1783 as

"a year so exhilarating to the majority of the American people, so sad and so fatal to a minority of them, but a minority in part composed of men as noble as ever manned a forlorn hope or went down for a sacred idea." (Vol. I., p. 355).

Professor Tyler notices a change in the tone of the loyalist writings during the second half of the period. They appeal less to reason, more to emotion; argument has proved unavailing to convince the stiff-necked rebels, and henceforth recourse is had to satire, invective, and passionate declamation. Joseph Stansbury and Jonathan Odell are the chief verse-writers on the loyalist side, and both took refuge in Nova Scotia after the treaty of 1783 with thousands of others. The former, however, a festive humorous soul, pined for his old haunts and eventually returned to New York. Odell was of sterner stuff. He had distinguished himself as a writer of biting satire, and disdaining compromise or apology he remained to the day of his death a determined enemy of the Republic, "a proud, gritty member of a political party that had been defeated, but never conquered or convinced."

In his preface Professor Tyler deplores the long "race feud" which the American Revolution has involved and says:

"I must confess, that in the book now offered to the public, I have written a new history of the origin and growth and culmination of this race feud, so far as I am able to do so, in the simple service of historic truth, and without permitting myself to be turned this way or that way by any consideration touching the practical consequences that might result either from fidelity or from infidelity to my duty as a historian. At the same time, I now greatly mistake the case if one practical consequence of this history, so far as it may find readers at all, shall not be irenic, rather than polemic—namely the promotion of a better understanding, of a deeper respect, of a kindlier mood, on both sides of the ocean, among the descendants of those determined men who so bitterly differed in opinion, so fiercely fought, and, in their anger, so widely parted company, a century and a quarter ago."

These are noble words and when we remember that the voice of him who writes them is daily heard by the youth of a great university, we see what powerful influences are working for peace and good will.

Mr. Edward Harris in his pamphlet shows himself a successor to the loyalist writers of the second half of the period discussed by Professor Tyler, in that he deals in invective, and appeals to passion rather than to reason. He gives some amusing details of the early life in the backwoods of New Brunswick as related to him by his parents and grandparents. These are more entertaining and profitable reading than his indictment of

the Americans, and such sneers as the allusion to "Washington and his Ring."

Mr. C. Haight's *Before the Coming of the Loyalists* is a calm statement of some of the injustice perpetrated by the successful revolutionary party in and after the war of independence upon their loyalist brethren. He does not pretend that many cruelties were not practised by the British and loyalists also by way of reprisal, and it is rather regrettably that he thinks it necessary now to remind his hearers of the quarrel of a century ago. But the wrongs of the loyalists, he complains, have never been admitted or repented of by the Americans, and common justice demands that they shall not be glossed over and forgotten while the injustice and oppression of King George the Third are still a favourite theme of American jingoes.

The Westward Movement : The Colonies and the Republic west of the Alleghanies, 1763-1798, with full cartographical illustrations from contemporary sources. By Justin Winsor. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1897. Pp. viii ; 595.

The Winning of the West. By Theodore Roosevelt. Volume IV., Louisiana and the Northwest, 1791-1807. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896. Pp. vi, 363.

The Centennial Celebration of the Evacuation of Detroit by the British, July 11, 1796—July 11, 1896. Report of the Proceedings. Detroit: Printed for the Committee. Pp. 179.

Mr. Justin Winsor's book has a pathetic interest as appearing after his lamented death. He discusses fairly the disputes which led to the retention of the ports on the great lakes, and he calls his book "a story of how much of our territorial integrity we owe to British forbearance, when the false-hearted diplomacy of France and Spain would have despoiled us." Mr. Winsor ventures upon the disputed ground of the real intentions of the Quebec Act and takes a view of its purport quite the opposite of that in Mr. Coffin's monograph upon the subject, which he does not quote. According to Mr. Winsor, the Quebec Act was a deep-laid plan to prevent the expansion westward of the English

colonies and to shut them in as the French had wished, between the Alleghany mountains and the sea.

The most critical aspect of this westward movement in the United States was the inevitable conflict with the Indians which it involved and continued to involve for nearly a century. By the treaty of 1782 the Indians found themselves once more transferred without their own consent to new masters. The French had yielded the west to Great Britain, Great Britain now yielded it to the United States. The Indians themselves were not consulted, and with scant respect for Indian claims American settlers were occupying the western lands. It is little wonder that an Indian war ensued, and little wonder, too, that Great Britain had some qualms about abandoning her old allies to the new republic.

These troubled relations regarding the frontier posts between Canada and the United States are the subject of a large part of Mr. Winsor's narrative. He is not always accurate, indeed his work is singularly inaccurate in minor details; he almost never gives authorities for anything but maps and illustrations; yet his work is of great value as being calm and impartial in spirit.

Like everything else Mr. Roosevelt has written, the last volume of the "Winning of the West" is pleasant reading. The narrative is lucid, direct, and well constructed, but strongly marked by that spirit of aggressive jingoism with which the author's name has been so intimately associated of late years. He scarcely professes a show of impartiality where Great Britain is concerned.

Only the first two chapters, covering about one hundred pages and describing St. Clair's defeat and Wayne's successful campaign, have any relation to Canadian affairs. At the outset Mr. Roosevelt tells his readers very truthfully and even eloquently that

"In actual life the victors win in spite of brutal blunders and repeated checks. Watched near by while the fight stamps to and fro, the doers and the deeds stand out naked and ugly. We see all too clearly the blood and sweat, the craft and cunning and blind luck, the raw cruelty and stupidity, the shortcomings of heart and hand, the mad abuse of victory. Strands of meanness and cowardice are everywhere shot through the warp of lofty and generous daring. There are failures bitter and shameful, side by side with feats of triumphant prowess."

Yet it is precisely all this that he fails to set forth in his book. After the Revolutionary War the western frontier between the United States and Canada was still undetermined. American frontiersmen were doing their best for the interests of their country, and to Mr. Roosevelt they are but a little lower than the angels. The frontiersman's "craft, cunning, raw cruelty and stupidity" are all condoned or passed over in silence, while the "treachery and untrustworthiness of the Indians" are, if anything, exaggerated. The reason of course is that the Indians, after the Revolution, continued to war on the new "United States" as a result, it was charged, of British crooked dealing. After admitting that McKee and other "British agents" did advise the Indians to make peace with the United States, Mr. Roosevelt says that "the British were really the mainstay and support of the Indians in their warfare." As a proof of this he cites from the Canadian Archives Francis Lafontaine's account for "sundries furnished to the Indians," which contains a charge for "50 lbs. fine powder and 100 lbs. ball," but omits to state that this account was paid by the Indians themselves "on the division of their clothing"; he fails to point out too that as hunting was their chief means of subsistence ammunition was even more necessary to them than their clothing which they sold to this enterprising trader. On that occasion McKee had plainly informed the Indians that he was instructed to consult with them as to "what means could be fallen upon consistent with your honour and interest to put an end to the fatal disputes between you and the United States." This language is condemned by Mr. Roosevelt as "guarded"; the phrase "honour and interest" is, he says, objectionable, and we are assured that "such very cautious advice was not of a kind to promise peace."

While Mr. Roosevelt frankly admits that a large proportion of the settlers on the frontier wished for war not only because they coveted the lands of the Indians but for the sake of the money they expected to make out of supplying their own army, he throws in the end the whole blame upon the British agents.

"The conduct of the Americans in the years which closed with Wayne's treaty did not shine very brightly; but the conduct of the British was black indeed. On the northwestern frontier they behaved in a way which can

scarcely be too harshly stigmatized. This does not apply to the British civil and military officers at the Lake Posts ; for they were merely doing their duty as they saw it, and were fronting their foes bravely, while with loyal zeal they strove to carry out what they understood to be the policy of their superiors. The ultimate responsibility rested with these superiors, the Crown's high advisers, and the King and Parliament they represented. Their treatment both of the Indians whom they professed to protect and of the Americans with whom they professed to be friendly, forms one of the darkest pages in the annals of the British in America" (p. 97).

This is Mr. Roosevelt's final judgment. He indeed notices Mr. Goldwin Smith's statement : "That the British government or anybody by its authority was intriguing with the Indians against the Americans seems to be an assertion of which there seems to be no proof." He admits that Mr. Goldwin Smith "is a student and must be taken seriously," but the Oxford professor is informed that "if he will examine the Canadian Archives from which I have quoted and the authorities which I cite he will find the proof ready to hand." What is the proof ? He cites letters from subordinate officers of the Indian Department with the skill of a special pleader when they seem to support his case, but he omits all that do not. He fails absolutely to produce evidence involving those whom he especially accuses—"the Crown's high advisers." The author's *animus* is shown in other ways. "British agents greet the scalping parties," is one of his marginal notes, but there is no mention of the scores of American prisoners rescued from captivity and perhaps a cruel death by the same men. (Lord Dorchester to Mr. Grenville, 21st June, 25th Sept., 1790. Can. Arch. N. 25, p. 504 ; N. 26, p. 377.)

There can be no doubt that the British government wished to remain at peace with the Indians as well as with the United States. That it wished to retain influence over the Indians and regarded them as possible allies in the event of a future conflict with the United States is equally true. The British wished to secure for the Indians a neutral strip of territory on the western frontier between Canada and the United States. A proposal by a Mr. Hammond in 1792 is thus stated by the British Secretary, Mr. Henry Dundas, in a letter to Lord Dorchester :

"His Majesty's Government and the American States should join in securing exclusively to the Indians a certain portion of territory lying between and extending the whole length of the lines of their respective frontiers,

within which both parties should stipulate not to suffer their subjects to retain or acquire any lands whatever."

What is termed in the language of modern diplomacy "a buffer state" would have been founded with the object of "putting an end to the present unhappy contests between the American States and the Indians, and for securing a permanent friendship between them as well as between those States and Great Britain."

But Mr. Hamilton, on the part of the United States, refused to consider this proposition and curtly replied

"that any plan that comprehended anything like a cession of territory, or right or allowance of any other power to interfere in the disputes with the Indians would be considered by this Government as absolutely impracticable and inadmissible."

The home government showed great consideration for the susceptibilities of the United States, and Mr. Dundas even considered it necessary to disapprove of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's efforts to attract immigration to Upper Canada from the United States.

"Nothing could be more justly offensive to other nations, and especially to the United States," he remarked (12th July, 1792,) "than to make the emigration of their subjects a professed and avowed object of our Government."

A month later (15th August, 1792,) he informed Simcoe, in reply to an urgent demand for reinforcements, that

"the pacific disposition and state of this country and consequent reduction of the forces in aid of revenue are a strong objection to an increase of force in Canada not absolutely necessary."

After learning that the proposal for the creation of a "barrier state" would not be entertained, Dundas continued to warn Simcoe to avoid the commission of any act which could be construed as unfriendly in any respect.

"His Majesty's servants," he wrote on the 6th December, 1792, "are aware of the inconveniences which arise from the want of a final adjustment of the boundary between His Majesty's dominions and the American States, and to effect which they will neglect no means which promise success nor fail to seize the most favourable opportunity which may occur for that purpose. In the meantime it is almost unnecessary to add that too much care cannot be taken, consistently with the protection of His Majesty's subjects and the security of the posts in our possession, that in all matters of dispute between His Majesty's subjects and those of the American States, the conduct of His Majesty's Government in Canada should be such as to preclude the possibility of a spirit of ill-humour existing at a time when propositions for the completion of so desirable an object are likely to be brought forward."

On May 2nd, 1793, Dundas cautioned Simcoe "to keep in view the ideas already communicated" respecting relations with

the United States, and on the 31st August, 1793, while commanding his "vigilance and attention," he observed:—

"It is necessary you should be on your guard, and it is equally so that nothing should arise within either of the two Canadas of which any advantage can be taken as such by the Americans as they may wish through the medium of popular prejudice to inflame the public mind against this country. No proposition can be more clear than that nothing should be done by Great Britain, or any of her dependencies, to provoke or justify hostilities on their part."

The appearance of a French squadron on the North American coast soon after, and the prospect of a Franco-American alliance indeed induced the minister to authorize defensive measures. The enlistment of two battalions of troops in Canada, subsequently known as the Royal Canadian volunteers, was authorized, as was also the military occupation, when practicable, of York and of Long Point. Simcoe, however, was informed at the same time:—

"You will, nevertheless, be aware that neither the occupation of those stations, nor the increase of our forces in the Canadas, can at all render the pacific conduct of His Majesty's servants in those provinces the less necessary or important."

Dundas's despatches to Lieutenant-Governor Clark of the 15th August and 10th December, 1792, and to Lord Dorchester on the 17th July, 1793, and 8th January, 15th February, and 4th June, 1794, conveyed similar instructions. Lord Dorchester, the governor, was less pacific than Dundas. He made an injudicious speech to the Indians at Niagara, on February 10th, 1794, and he also ordered Simcoe to occupy a position on the Miami river. When informed of this Dundas wrote to Dorchester:

"Your Lordship must be thoroughly impressed with the great consequence which His Majesty's Government attach to the preservation of peace with America, and consequently to the avoiding of anything like hostilities in consequence of disputes concerning the treaty line and the posts on the American side of it in our possession. Your Lordship, I observe, too, is perfectly aware that there exists in the American States, a considerable and certainly a most violent party whose views seem to be inimical to the real interests of their own Government as well as of ours, and whose object appears to be to drive all subsisting matters of dispute between the two countries beyond the bounds of accommodation. Under these circumstances and without being further informed of the reason upon which the measures I am going to mention were founded, I should not deal fairly and candidly by your Lordship, if I were not to express my apprehensions that your answer to the message from the Indians of the Upper Country marked G, and your proposing to Colonel Simcoe in your Lordship's letter to him, marked C, to occupy nearly the same posts on the Miami river which were demolished after the peace, may not rather provoke hostilities than prevent them."

No hint of this side of the story is to be discovered in Mr. Roosevelt's pages. If he has consulted the Canadian Archives as carefully as he intimates, it is difficult to see how he can have overlooked these documents, or having read them, how he can venture the assertion that "the British, while professing peace with the Americans, treacherously incited the Indians to war against them." "The ordinary American histories," he tells us, are often "absurdly unjust to England," yet throughout these chapters he will be found to be scarcely less unjust himself.

In Canada we have almost forgotten that Great Britain did not evacuate Oswego, Detroit, Mackinac, and other points now in the United States until long after peace had been concluded at the close of the Revolutionary war in 1783. The centennial celebration of the evacuation of Detroit by the British, of which the volume named is the record, is a reminder that the British flag waved over Fort Lernoult at Detroit until July 11th, 1796. Various reasons are assigned for the delay of the British in evacuating the western posts. In this connection we have an instructive contrast between history as declaimed on the platform and history as understood by the historian. The speakers at the public meeting held in Detroit July 11th, 1896, repeatedly accused Great Britain of shameless bad faith in delaying the evacuation. The historian, Professor A. C. McLaughlin, of the University of Michigan, admits that the delay was justified by American non-compliance with the terms of the Treaty of 1783:

"Doubtless the Americans had broken the treaty. The treatment of the Loyalists forms no bright chapter in our national history. Several States had laws on their statute-books which prevented the ready recovery of debts by British creditors" (p. 174.)

Such laws were in contravention of treaty provisions. The astute diplomatist Jay admitted in November, 1796, that the treaty had been violated daily by some of the States of the Union. On the other hand the British were desirous of postponing as long as possible the final surrender of a valuable region. They hoped that the new Union would not hold together, and that a coveted territory might thus revert to them.

The charge has been made that the British held the posts partly as a basis for inciting the Indians against the new republic

in time of peace. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, as we have shown, repeats this charge. Professor McLaughlin discussed it before the American Historical Association in 1894, and said :

" Our historians have customarily made that accusation, and at first sight it seems to be justified. But I am glad to be able to state after an examination of the Canadian Archives for the purpose, that England and her ministers can be absolutely acquitted of the charge that they desired to foment war in the west. I do not mean to assert that they were entirely without responsibility for a condition of affairs and a state of mind on the part of the savages which made hostilities a certainty. But direct instigation is not chargeable to English ministers at any time nor to the Canadian authorities until 1794. There never was a time when the orders of the home Government to the Colonial officials did not explicitly direct that war was to be deprecated and the Indians encouraged to keep the peace. Words seem at times inconsistent with acts, but the instructions are too frequent and too clear to be denied or misconstrued."

Alexander McKee, the able Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit for the whole of this period, who has been so persistently abused by nearly all American writers, is equally absolved from blame by Mr. McLaughlin :

" Even McKee, the western agent, who has been charged with being an arch mischief-maker, was acting under direct instructions and seems to have obeyed them. The desire for peace had continued through 1792 and 1793, McKee then at the rapids of the Miami seems to have been in king efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities. At least he so reported, and the wishes of his superiors are so evident and so strong that one must find greater evidence than I have been able to discover to convict him of disobedience and dishonesty."

White settlers were pressing westward into territory that the Indians regarded as exclusively their own. This pressure came only from the United States, for, in Canada, there was as yet no colonization movement that extended further west than the Detroit River. The natives were thus driven to oppose the new republic without other instigations than the natural promptings of self-defence.

A cruel war raged between the Americans and the Indians from 1770 to 1794. The British had not lost hope of retaining a vast territory including what are now Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. If they could not keep it themselves, they wished at least to see it an Indian " buffer state " between Canada and the United States. It was a noble heritage to struggle for, but Jay's Treaty made in 1794 blasted the hopes of the Canadian Governors. By this treaty the British undertook finally to withdraw from the western posts. On July 11th,

1796, Colonel England handed over Fort Lernault and the Union Jack made way for the Stars and Stripes. The British withdrew to Amherstburg. This Colonel England afterwards settled in western Canada, and his son, Sir Richard England, born at Detroit, became a distinguished officer in the British army and died in 1883. Colonel England was a huge Irishman, six and a half feet in height. He was the cause of one of the clever things said by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. The Prince asked the name of the huge officer and when told "England" he replied, "He ought to be called Great Britain."

Western Canada, Before and Since Confederation, by Sir Donald Smith. A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute April 13, 1897. Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, 1897.

New Light on the Early History of the Greater North-west. The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur-Trader of the North-west Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company, 1799-1814. Exploration and Adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Columbia Rivers. Edited with copious critical commentary by Elliott Coues. New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897. 3 vols. Pp. 1027.

Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains, by Washington Irving (Tacoma Edition). New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Two volumes. Pp. 389, 391.

The paper by Sir Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona and Montreal) on Western Canada, read before the Royal Colonial Institute on April 13th, 1897, is so clear and forceful in statement that every word tells. No one can speak with more weight upon the subject than Lord Strathcona himself. He is an old official of the Hudson Bay Company, and has had a large share in bringing about the present promising conditions in western Canada which he describes. It is a wonderful story. Twenty-five years ago there was not a railway in our North-west. Agriculture, except for local purposes, was almost unknown. The fur-trade

was the one important interest. In 1878 the first railway entered Manitoba. In 1885 the Canadian Pacific railway across the continent was completed, Lord Strathcona himself driving the last spike. The railway has brought surprisingly rapid changes in the products of the country. The fur-trading interest is no longer the dominant one, and the North-west is now exporting flour, cheese, butter and cattle in ever-increasing quantities.

Lord Strathcona tells the story of the work of the Hudson Bay Company in the simple but effective style of a business man. A route from the North-west, *via* Hudson Bay, to Europe is talked of now as if it were a new project. He points out that when the Hudson Bay Company was founded in 1670, it was with the view of carrying on trade with the North-west by way of Hudson Bay in order to avoid the long canoe-journeys of the Lake Superior route. For one hundred years the Indians of the North-west resorted to the shores of Hudson Bay with their furs. The Company established at first no posts in the interior, but induced the Indians to come to York Factory and other places on the coast. After the disputes with the French in the days of Frontenac had ended, the Company had, and still has, a practically undisturbed monopoly of the trade in this region. In another quarter, however, its influence was threatened. The French *coureurs de bois* had long been in the Canadian North-west, and after the British conquest enterprising Scotch traders began to organize the considerable trade that the *coureurs de bois* had created. Ten years after the British conquest the North-West Company was founded, and it soon occupied the territory now included in north-western Canada and a great part of the north-western States of the Union. Hitherto the Hudson Bay Company had not penetrated into this region, but had obliged the natives to come to its coast stations. Now, however, this company followed the North-West Company into the interior and claimed, under its charter, an exclusive monopoly of the fur-trade. A bitter rivalry followed. In 1798 a third competitor appeared in the well-known "X. Y. Co.", having like the North-West Company its head-quarters at Montreal. Any one who would realize the evil effects of this rivalry upon the natives

should read the earlier part of Alexander Henry's Journal, noticed later in this article. There were no restrictions upon the liquor traffic like those that had been attempted during the French *régime* and the Indians were being debauched at a frightfully rapid rate. The fur-trade itself was demoralized and in 1804 (not 1805 as Lord Strathcona states) the obvious evils of disunion brought about an amalgamation between the North-West Company and the "X. Y. Co." In 1821 the undisputed sway of the Hudson Bay Company over the Canadian fur-trade was recovered by the absorption of its remaining competitor. The rivalry had done some good. It caused the traders to push ever farther into the interior and finally carried them across the Rocky Mountains. Until the settlement of the frontier in 1846 British fur-traders were in possession of the field in what are now Oregon and Washington States. Lord Strathcona claims, with some justice, that it was the fur-traders who saved British Columbia for Great Britain.

The Hudson Bay Company ruled over a territory half as large as Europe. It was the exclusive medium of supply for the inhabitants of this territory and it furnished them with the sole market for their wares. Never were any of its obligations repudiated. The Indians learned to have absolute confidence in the Company and the Company in turn trusted the Indians. In bad seasons it made advances to them, and Lord Strathcona, who, as an old Hudson Bay factor, knows whereof he speaks, says that the Indians usually paid their debts. The mild and just rule of the Company saved Canada from the disastrous Indian wars that form so bloody a chapter in the history of the United States. The officers were an intelligent body of men with plenty of leisure for reading and meditation. They were devoted to their work, and Lord Strathcona testifies from experience that their life was an enjoyable one. The Company had its own paper currency after 1825—"Hudson's Bay blankets" the notes were called. In 1836 there were 136 forts stretching from Labrador to the Pacific coast. Changes in methods of transportation have caused the abandonment of some of them. The railway has taken the place of the canoe and dog-train, but the volume of the

Company's trade is enormous still. It is one of the greatest trading corporations in the world. A select committee of the British House of Commons in 1857 inquired fully into its work, and it is no slight testimony to its honourable record that the committee reported, in the interest of the natives, against a revival of open competition in the fur-trade. The days of chartered sovereign companies outside of Africa were, however, drawing to a close. By 1859 the Company's rule over Vancouver Island and British Columbia had ended and in 1867 it ceded its rights in the North-west to Canada for £300,000 and a good many million acres of fertile land. It thus continued to be a great land-owner in the Canadian North-west.

Not the least interesting part of Lord Strathcona's paper is his testimony to the improved condition of the Indians in the North-west. Their numbers are indeed not increasing, but many of them are taking kindly to civilized ways. They dress like the settlers, have comfortable houses and considerable areas under crop. They compete, sometimes successfully, with the whites at the agricultural fairs. They are keen traders and take contracts for transport and supplies. The children are being well educated. There is respect for law and the number of criminal offences is small. No doubt there are many idle and worthless vagabonds among them, but it is gratifying to know that the Indian is at any rate getting a fair chance in competition with the white.

The fur-trade handed on to English Canada the last flame of romance which had lightened her history from the days of Cartier to the departure of the French regiments from Quebec. Scarcely had the smoke of combat cleared away when men turned their faces toward the forest and the unknown plains of the west. The freedom of the life proved as irresistible a charm to the British as it had to the French, and Alexander Henry, the elder, was on his way to Michilimacinac disguised as a Canadian *voyageur* before Canada was even finally handed over to Great Britain. After a life of stirring adventure, with some measure of temporary success, he wrote an account of his wanderings. Every schoolboy knows his description of the fatal game of

lacrosse before the gates of the doomed fort at Sault Ste. Marie.

Richardsons, Forsyths, Frobishers and others established the commercial importance of Montreal as the centre of the fur-trade, a McTavish furnished it with a ghostly legend and its habitat, while McDonells, McKenzies, Chaboillez, La Rocques and Camerons filled the country from Glengarry to Quebec with tales of adventure and with their extravagant hospitality. Washington Irving has painted Fort William and the great fur-kings with his romantic pen, and told the story of John Jacob Astor's struggle and failure on the shores of the Pacific. Mr. Masson has brought us face to face with the men themselves in his "Bourgeois du Nord-Ouest," and now Dr. Elliott Coues has given us the story of another Alexander Henry, a nephew of the earlier adventurer, and of David Thompson, told by themselves in their private journals. Interesting and valuable as the material of the journals is, the editor's notes and comment are of equal value and leave the reader amazed at the industry and authority with which they have been compiled. Not a name is unexplained, not a puzzling question of identity is left unravelled; genealogical matter of the utmost importance is gathered, and phrases and customs of the *voyageur* and of the Indian are elucidated. One may complain, indeed, that the editorial matter is almost too copious.

Alexander Henry the younger was a "Northman," in the phrase of the day—that is he was a member of the North-West Fur Company, the great rival of the Hudson Bay Company until the amalgamation, after his time. For more than twenty years he remained among the Indians in the west, having to all appearance few ties with the outside world. He kept a journal, apparently with no view to publication, but rather as a mere business record. The Indians wondered much to see Henry writing in this book daily. He told them that he was preparing reports upon their good or bad conduct—and this awed them. The original has disappeared, but by a singular accident a manuscript copy of it has been preserved in the library of Parliament at Ottawa. Dr. Coues, the editor, does not think highly of Henry's literary style and has rewritten and condensed the jour-

nal—for which some readers will be grateful, though the historical scholar would prefer the original. The condensation and selections have, however, been made with evident wisdom and the reader can be reasonably sure that all the valuable part of Henry's work has been reproduced. The journal is an absolutely veracious story of Henry's life. He notes the happenings of each day in the spirit in which he enters up his daily accounts. One result of this telling of the naked truth—and it is very naked sometimes—is that loathsome scenes are described. We see the Indians as they were, and if the spectacle is not edifying it is still true that Henry gives us "a singularly veracious contribution to ethnology." (p. xix.)

The first glimpse we have of our author is in 1784, when his uncle retired from the old North-West Company transferring to the nephew all his rights therein. The name of the younger Henry appears in the list of 1799 of the Red River Division, and again in that of the amalgamated Companies of 1804 as a lately fledged "bourgeois"—a fine, full-sounding Canadian term which one may still occasionally hear employed, and always with a flavour of satisfaction. "Oui, mon bourgeois" never comes from sulky lips. Until the appearance of these journals we knew nothing of the personality of the man, but in them he reveals himself with almost as little reserve as Samuel Pepys, yet with infinitely smaller loss of self-respect.

In the autumn of 1799 we see him for the first time seated in his tent of Russia sheeting pitched on the Rivière Terre Blanche near the foot of Fort Dauphin (now Riding) Mountain, engaged on his journal by the light of a solitary candle. Midnight was his time for going to bed, and his light burning to such an unusual hour could be seen at a camp twelve miles to the eastward where it excited much astonishment. The whole of his first winter he spent here alone amongst his Indian hunters, except for a visit to Portage la Prairie. Game, he briefly notes, was so scarce that on the 19th, 20th and 21st of December they ate nothing until the evening of the last day, when a moose's head was boiled and divided between seventeen persons. "Hunger was the general cry at our establishments along the

Assiniboine." But in spite of cold, hunger, high wages and scarcity of game he made over £700 Halifax currency (\$2,800), and concludes with a genuine smack of satisfaction: "This campaign was my first *coup d'essai* in the North-west." He was now eligible for the inembership of the famous "Beaver Club" of Montreal to which no one could be elected until he had passed a winter in the *pays d'en haut*.

By July of the following year he was in charge of the Red River Brigade, with four canoes and twenty-nine persons under his immediate command. In his account the monotony and labour of a trader's voyage are seen in all their nakedness. The Indian has none of the romance with which Cooper invested him a quarter of a century later, and the sordid tricks of trade are exposed without apology or even comment. We catch glimpses of curious customs and uncanny ceremonies, and here and there a tragedy of jealousy, hatred, or warfare breaks in on the matter-of-fact narrative. Constantly threatened by hostile nations, quarrelling among themselves, in danger of death from starvation, or from attack by beasts of prey, the most gruesome of which were the "mad wolves," the little party made their way through the wilderness, past rock and rapid, gathering their precious harvest of beaver, bear and other pelts, until they returned to the Grand Portage in May 1801, with a net gain of nearly £2,000 Halifax currency. Then follow years on the Pembina with expeditions to the west among the Sioux, Mandan and Cheyenne Indians, better types of the savage than those Henry tells of in his first journeys, and so year by year he pushes farther and farther out to the Saskatchewan, to Fort Vermillion, in 1810 to the Rocky Mountains, over the Great Divide in 1811 and on to the Pacific. Here we are brought in contact with the fur-trading ventures of John Jacob Astor, and see the jealousies and anxieties of those in command. The journal daily mentions men whose names will live long in tradition if not in history. We read of the *Tonquin* and the tragedy of her end, of the *Beaver* and other ships long remembered in many a fire-side tale in far-away Canada.

So the story goes on, simple and unpretentious, but with the fascination of truthful details of life in an age and surroundings

different from our own or from anything the world can see again. The dreary monotony of the winter appears in its full immensity. The irritating and unsatisfactory conduct of the Indian, the constant peril by flood and field, the tragedy and comedy of the wilderness, the joy of meeting comrades, the satisfaction of success or the depression of failure are all set forth with a freshness and quaintness that hold the reader from the start at the Rivière Terre Blanche in the autumn of 1799 to the unfinished sentence which concludes the record written on Saturday the 21st of May, 1814, at Astoria (Fort George) on the banks of the Columbia. On the day following, Alexander Henry, Mr. Donald McTavish, and six *voyageurs* were upset in the river and all but one man perished.

Dr. Coues says of Henry that

"He engaged in the humble routine of traffic with the Indians, whom he cheated and debauched as a matter of course with assiduity and success, upon strict business principles." (p. viii.)

The character and opinions of this trader are indeed an interesting study. He understood the Indians thoroughly. The main interest of his life was to get their furs as cheaply as possible. Rival fur-trading companies were in competition. The Indians had acquired the taste—the passion—for drink, and the principal article in demand was rum. The fur-traders met the demand with a copious supply. For a hundred and fifty years the sale of liquor to Indians had been the great scandal in Canadian history which the Church had tried to root out. Henry took part in the trade as a matter of course. Yet he deplores the evils wrought by drink:

"To what can this degeneracy [of the Indians] be ascribed but to their intercourse with us, particularly as they are so unfortunate as to have a continual succession of opposition parties to teach them roguery and destroy both mind and body with that pernicious article, rum? What a different set of people they would be, were there not a drop of liquor in the country! If a murder is committed . . . it is always in a drinking-match. We may truly say that liquor is the root of all evil in the North-west." (p. 209.)

Thus, Henry, when he moralizes. His business, however, was not to moralize but to trade. No doubt he justified himself by the thought that the debauching of the Indian was an inevitable condition of trade; that if he did not do it some one else would. To whatever post he went he carried his cargo of rum. When

the Indians brought furs they were paid largely in liquor. They held what was technically called "Boissons,"—drinking-matches—and men, women and children engaged for days in a competitive debauch, which invariably ended in murder, or bloodshed. Henry would shut them out of his fort, and sitting on a high platform would watch them murder each other, complacently sometimes, at other times with considerable annoyance at the disturbance. Here are some extracts from the diary, (the italics are not Henry's):

"Sunday, January 1st, 1801. . . I gave my men some high wine, flour and sugar; the Indians purchased liquor, and by sunrise every soul of them was raving drunk—even the children" (p. 162).

"Friday, January 1st, 1802. My neighbours come visiting, and before sunrise both sexes of all parties were intoxicated . . . ; the men were fighting and quarreling all night" (p. 192).

"April 30th, 1804. . . Indians having asked for liquor and promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Gueule stabbed Capot Rouge, LeBoeuf stabbed his young wife in the arm. Little Shell almost beat his old mother's brains out with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. *I sowed garden seeds*" (p. 243).

"February 9th, 1807. Men and women have been drinking a match for three days and nights, during which it has been drink, fight—drink, fight—drink, and fight again—guns, axes and knives their weapons—*very disagreeable*" (p. 273).

It may be thought that the man primarily responsible for these crimes was depraved in a peculiar degree. Not so, however. There is much to respect in Henry. He has, indeed, strong prejudices. Indians, Canadian *voyageurs* and rival traders are of small account with him. Yet his tone is humane and, once, even devout. When the Indians are injured in their murderous fights Henry dresses and cares for their wounds. Upon his removal from the Pembina to the Saskatchewan, he is almost surprised to see that his Indian friends are really affected at his departure (p. 447). He is always firm with them, self-controlled and watchful. He boasts that they had never been able to rob him even to the value of a needle (p. 452). Once he attacked a dishonest Indian with his fists "and bunged up his eyes so that he could not see for several days" (p. 242). He can beat the Indians on their own ground. His sight is even keener than theirs (p. 437); and he is a splendid shot with a rifle. He speaks of them as if they were children. He condemns their want of gratitude. In

some of the tribes he notes the women's entire lack of modesty, and draws a picture of their enslaved and brutalized condition that is as true in detail as it is revolting. This rugged trader has a keen eye for beauty: he chooses his camping-places for their picturesque situation; he delights in the rolling prairie, in the striking appearance of the caravans that wind across it, in the sweet odours of the spring blossoms. Behind the outward turmoil of his life lies deep religious conviction.

"I place my trust in that ever blessed Being who has protected me in every difficulty and danger since my first coming into the Indian country. In that Divine Providence I rest confident and secure . . . His will be done!" (p. 877).

Apparently he lives with an Indian woman at each of his posts. He rarely loses control of himself, but on occasion he drinks heavily ["June 1st, 1806, played with J. McKenzie of the H. B. Co., with drum, fife, etc., and drank out a ten-gallon keg of brandy."] Yet withal he is no hypocrite. He is only a man, with the strange contradictions of human nature.

Henry's description of the Canadian North-west is the fullest early account that we have of that wonderful country. The site of Winnipeg, then known as The Forks, was one of his earliest camping-places. He says:

"In French times there was a trading establishment on this spot, traces of which are still to be seen where the chimneys and cellars stood [Vérendrye's Fort Rouge]. I am also informed there was a chapel and a missionary here for several years; but I don't believe they ever made much progress toward civilizing the natives. We are troubled by swarms of water-snakes, which even come into our tents at midday; every morning some are sure to be found in our beds; but they are harmless. They appear to lurk and breed in the old graves, of which there are many, this spot having been a place of great resorts for the natives in 1781-82; and at the time the smallpox made such havoc, many hundreds of men, women, and children were buried here" (p. 46).

Henry was aware of the extraordinary fertility of the soil in the North-west, although our own generation has only begun to discover the real meaning of this fact. His description of the game in the country is very interesting. On the shores of Lake Winnipeg he found the trees covered with pigeons, and continuous firing did not appear to diminish the number (p. 39). For a whole day swans pass uninterruptedly (p. 104). At the Pembina River he sees seven bears drinking at one time on the

opposite beach. Red deer are all about, and a large white wolf coming near is promptly shot dead. Grizzly bears are frequently killed. He tells a curious story of copulation between female wolves and his dogs (p. 166). The most striking, however, of all his descriptions are those of the buffaloes. His account of their number would be incredible were it not amply corroborated from other sources. Sometimes the whole plains seemed in motion. Many of the poor beasts were killed only for their tongues. This waste of life seems cruel; but it is a mere trifle compared with the destruction of the buffalo by natural forces. In the spring thousands were drowned, while attempting to cross the river when the ice was weak.

"April 1st, 1801. . . Drowned buffalo continue to drift by entire herds. . . It is really astonishing what vast numbers have perished, they formed one continuous line in the current for two days and nights. One of my men found a herd that had fallen through the ice in Park river and all been drowned. They were sticking in the ice, which had not yet moved in that part" (p. 174).

Nor was water the only enemy of the unfortunate animals. After a prairie fire Henry says:

"Plains burned in every direction and blind buffalo seen every moment wandering about. The poor beasts have all the hair singed off; even the skin in many cases is shrivelled up and terribly burned, and their eyes are swollen and closed fast. It was really pitiful to see them staggering about, sometimes running afoul of a large stone, at other times tumbling down hill and falling into creeks not yet frozen over. In one spot we found a whole herd lying dead" (p. 254).

Little has been said here of Thompson, the indefatigable explorer, whose journals, preserved in forty volumes in the Department of Crown Lands at Toronto, have helped Dr. Coues so to track Henry that nearly every spot where he camped can be identified. Thompson penetrated to the Pacific coast and was establishing posts on the Columbia when Astoria was founded. Had he been a little earlier the British would have established a priority of claim to that region. To examine his journals, still in manuscript, was in itself no light labour, and Dr. Coues has brought to the task a wealth of information truly wonderful. One could, perhaps, spare some of his sensational headings of pages, such as "Polygamous Generalissimo Choke-Cherry" (p. 369); "What Happens When Thieyes Fall Out" (p. 597); "The Wages of Sin is Death" (p. 623). His literary style is sometimes more

lively than elegant. There should have been a running date at the top of the pages, so that one could take chronological bearings at a glance. These are, however, minor blemishes. Dr. Coues has given us in capital form a large mass of new material dealing with the North-west. The book is admirably printed and the maps are most valuable. The edition is limited to 1,100 copies. Mr. Masson in his book published eight years ago, brought to light original manuscripts of many of which the existence was unsuspected. No doubt there are many more throughout the country. They should be diligently sought for and no longer stored away in the portfolios of jealous collectors. Canada has a dramatic and fascinating history, much of which is still untold. That its telling is of more than local moment is demonstrated in the wide-spread popularity of Francis Parkman; that it is of interest is in no manner more fully established than in the popular idea that his masterly and always truthful narrative is a cunningly constructed romance.

A new edition of *Astoria*, appearing in the same year with Henry's Journal, invites criticism of Washington Irving's classic work. *Astoria* has an undying charm. The numerous editions which have appeared show what perennial interest there is in the history of the west. Irving's work is entitled to rank as genuine history. It is true that he rarely gives his authorities, and that he has no critical apparatus that would satisfy modern scientific standards. He did not gather all possible information relating to the fur-trade in the North-west when *Astoria* was founded, but relied mainly upon the narratives of Franchère—the original of which is now in the Toronto Public Library—of Alexander Ross and of Ross Cox, and from this scanty material he told a story remarkable, on the whole, for accuracy and insight. No one has yet ventured to "edit" Irving. The present edition is an elaborate specimen of bookmaking. The type of each page is surrounded by an ornamental border, intended to be beautiful, but hardly as good as the plain wide margin would be. There are numerous illustrations of varying merit, those taken from photographs of natural scenery being the best. That a publisher issues so expensive and beautiful an edition is itself

the strongest testimony to Irving's continued popularity. How many books of the more rigorous modern historical school will last as long?

For us now Astoria has an historical interest, as helping to give the United States a footing on the North Pacific coast that was ultimately to be made permanent. John Jacob Astor, of New York, inspired largely by the success of the North-West Company, which had its headquarters at Montreal, fitted out two expeditions, one by land and one by sea, the aim of both being the founding of a post at the mouth of the Columbia river, upon the Pacific, which should attract the fur-trade of the north and west and be a convenient point of distribution to the greatest fur market, China. The captain and crew of the ship—the *Tonquin*—which carried the fur-traders round Cape Horn to their destination were soon after massacred by the Indians of the coast. The land expedition crossed the continent, and after untold hardships, in which its sixty members were reduced to forty-seven, the Columbia was reached. This was one of the earliest trans-continental journeys, and the route followed is still obscure. Astoria was founded in 1811, and soon after Great Britain and the United States were at war. We know how that barren struggle affected the east; we fail to realize that it spread through the west and added to the rivalries of trade the bitterness of international conflict. The British traders of the North-West Company were jealous of Astoria, which threatened their practical monopoly upon the Pacific coast. For two years the American flag floated over the post. Mr. Astor's agents looked eagerly for the arrival of an American ship to aid them, but to the joy of the "Northmen" a British war-ship arrived first. On Monday, December 13th, 1813 (not on December 12th, as Irving states), Astoria fell and was re-named Fort George by the British. The Americans retired overland. British traders occupied the adjoining territory of what are now the States of Washington and Oregon. Not until 1846, when Great Britain accepted the line of the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the international boundary, did the United States recover the advantage which they had lost by the fall of Astoria. The pioneer fur-traders

were contending for great interests. Without Astoria the western frontier of Canada would probably have been much further south than it now is.

Henry's journal throws much new light on the fall of Astoria. Washington Irving did not know, apparently, that such a person as Henry existed, for the Henry whom he mentions is not Alexander Henry. It is a romance of history that the diary of this forgotten trader should appear now to correct our information about events in which we scarcely knew that he had had a share.

Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814. Part II. Edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, by Captain E. Cruikshank. Welland : Tribune Office. 1897. Pp. 264-xxxiii.

Captain (now Major) Cruikshank has in this part completed his collection of documents on the campaign of 1814. In the first part the Canadian archives were largely drawn upon for the British documents, but in this one the editor's gleanings have largely been from other fields. About one hundred pages are devoted to the despatches, British and American, between the period of the attack on Fort Erie and the close of the war. The Americans seem to have made up their minds that the only hope of success was in making a wilderness of Upper Canada, and by small active marauding parties to destroy the farm-houses and burn the mills and all the crops which had been harvested amid so many difficulties. The result, however, of this course was to intensify the Canadian feeling against them, and to draw on the sympathy and assistance of other portions of the Empire. The formation of the Royal and Patriotic Society was an organized effort to relieve the distress caused by the war, and its Report contains the detailed statements of the settlers and the allowances made to them as temporary assistance. We have in this document positive information as to the condition of the settlers at the close of the war, and are able to realize something of the barbarity with which it was conducted. The editor has wisely reproduced from this scarce report a great deal of most

interesting and valuable matter. He has also been extremely fortunate in obtaining access to the family papers of the Hon. P. A. Porter, of Niagara Falls, which have hitherto remained unedited. General Porter was in command of a corps during 1814, and was present at the battle of Lundy's Lane. His letters and despatches are quite in accordance with the published American official papers, and add much of local interest. Every student of Canadian history must be under the necessity of acknowledging Major Cruikshank's great assistance by providing such a valuable basis for the more perfect understanding of the war of 1812-14.

Humours of '37, grave, gay and grim ; Rebellion Times in the Canadas. By Robina and Kathleen Macfarlane Lizars. Toronto : William Briggs, 1897. Pp. 370.

The design of this volume is apparently to collect stories, incidents, odds and ends of all kinds, such as might be considered beneath the dignity or beyond the scope of an ordinary historical work, and yet likely to interest by their quaintness and humour, and, above all, by their serving to bring vividly before the reader the life of a past epoch. To carry out such a scheme successfully is no easy task ; in any case a book of this sort would lack continuity, and would be more likely to please when taken up to occupy a leisure moment than when read continuously. But provided the material were good, and that it were treated with some literary skill, an interesting and useful volume might well be the result. Unfortunately in the present case, literary skill and power of discriminating good from worthless in material are alike wanting ; so that the painstaking industry and extensive knowledge of the writers fail to produce proportionate results. An ambitious style has been adopted, which aims at pointedness, picturesqueness, and epigrammatic force, but only succeeds in clogging the course of the narrative, and producing the sense of tedium in the reader. The crispness and simplicity which should characterize the style of a narrative of anecdotes are conspicuously absent. In the second place, what is really worth repeating is diluted by a mass of quotations without liter-

ary or historic value, of trite and obvious reflections, of trivial and pointless anecdotes, and of stories which neither have interest and humour in themselves, nor throw any light upon the times. The reader should be warned, however, that the opening chapters are the most faulty in these respects. When the writers come to the description of the actual events of the Rebellion of 1837 and of the condition of things in the following months, they are at their best; and he would be very familiar with the persons and events of that day, who would not have his conception of the condition of things in Canada in 1837 made more true and vivid by the perusal of these chapters.

As an example of amusing facts conveyed in a rather diluted style the following passage may be quoted :

"Immense sums had been expended during that war [1812] upon unnecessary things, unaccountable ignorance having sent the woodwork of the frigate *Psyche* to a country where it could have been provided on the spot at one-hundredth of the expense and one-tenth of the time necessary to convey it there. Even wedges had been sent, and the Admiralty, full of salt-water notions, was paternal enough to include a full supply of water casks for use on Lake Ontario, where a bucket overboard could draw up water undreamed of by Jack tars, from a reservoir through which flowed nearly half the fresh water supply of the globe. Clearly, details of geography were not included in the lists for those bright youths who were preparing for the Admiralty, and nowhere was the foolish touch of a prodigal-handed parent seen to more advantage than in Kingston."

As a fair example of the better portions of the book, we may quote the narrative of the way that tidings were brought to Sir Francis Head of the presence of the rebels in the immediate neighbourhood of Toronto.

"John Powell, a magistrate who had been busy swearing in special constables, went on horseback with some other volunteers to patrol the northern approaches to the city. At the rise of the Blue Hill Mackenzie and two others were met, the first armed with a large horse-pistol, the others with rifles. Powell was not only taken prisoner, but was told 'they would let Bond Head know something before long, and were now determined to have a government of their own.' A fellow-prisoner told Powell of the death of Colonel Moodie, put spurs to his horse and managed to escape. Confident that the city's safety now depended on his own ability to elude his captors, Powell essayed to do the same, but was told by one of them, Anderson, he 'would drive a ball through' him . . . Then, not two feet from Anderson, Powell suddenly reined back his horse, drew a pistol and fired. The shot struck Anderson in the back of the neck; he fell like a sack—the spinal cord was severed and death must have been instantaneous. To wheel about, ride at a break-neck pace, pass Mackenzie himself, hear the latter's bullet whistle past him, turn in his saddle and snap a pistol in Mackenzie's face, dismount when he heard the clatter of following hoofs, to hide behind a log while the pursuer passed, to run down the College Avenue, hug-

ging the shadows as he went, until Government House was reached, brought him where FitzGibbon and others, discomfited, had failed to rouse this phenomenal sleeper. A hour before there had been a moment's consciousness with the ringing of the Upper Canada College bell by the energetic hand of a youth named John Hillyard Cameron ; but on hearing that it was rung by Colonel FitzGibbon's command, the sleeper, like a marmot, turned over and went to sleep again. Unceremoniously shaking Majesty in its nightcap, Powell managed to perform what Sir Francis, in his own account of his affair, calls a sudden awakening."

A defect in this book is the entire absence of reference to authorities. For this the authors apologize in their preface on the ground of the difficulty of citing originals on account of the large number employed. There may be something in this ; but one does not see why long extracts in quotation marks should be given without indication of their source, or why such a vague periphrasis as "a well known and accredited newspaper" should be used instead of the definite name.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. The Peter Paul Book Company, Buffalo, N. Y., 1896. Pp. x. 448.

Eleven years have elapsed since the Buffalo Historical Society published its last volume. The present one contains a selection from the papers read before the society from 1864 to 1896. As might be expected, most of them are of a local character and not above the ordinary level of such productions. The exceptions are Mr. Bird's "Reminiscences of the Boundary Survey" ; Mr. Bryant's transcript of the document in the Canadian Archives entitled "Anecdotes of Capt. Jos. Brant" ; Dean Harris's "Flint Workers," and a reprint of the "First Buffalo Book," being "Public speeches delivered in the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days of July, 1812, by Hon. Erastus Granger, Indian Agent, and Red Jacket." A paper by Mr. F. H. Severance on the "Authors of Buffalo" displays an amount of patient research which is, perhaps, scarcely worthily employed. The mechanical finish of the book is admirable.

Collections and Researches made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Vol. xxv. Lansing, Robert Smith & Co. 1896. Pp. 720.

The present volume is entirely made up of copies of papers in the Canadian Archives, which are themselves transcripts from the Colonial Office Records, extending from 1794 to 1823. It completes the publication of the extensive series of documents transcribed by this society from originals or copies in the archives, comprising the whole or greater part of eleven volumes of their collections and covering upwards of six thousand printed pages. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the service this society has thus rendered to historical students in Canada as well as in the United States. Many letters and despatches of the highest national interest, from such persons as General Brock, Sir James Craig, Sir Gordon Drummond, Lord Dorchester, Sir George Prevost, Peter Russell and Lieutenant-Governors Gore and Simcoe are here for the first time published in full. It may be difficult occasionally to discover the bearing that some of these documents have upon the history of Michigan, but there are very few that are not of interest for the history of Canada during a momentous period. Unfortunately in several instances their value is considerably lessened by careless transcription or proof-reading (probably the latter), and some important documents are omitted which should be included. The liberality of the State enables the society to sell its collections at or below cost.

The Story of Canada, by Howard A. Kennedy (London, Marshall, "Story of the Empire" Series), is a little book well written and almost surprisingly accurate. Many a more pretentious history repays the reader much less than this small volume. The author was with General Middleton in the North-west campaign of 1885, and praises Canada with discriminating enthusiasm.

Miss Spence's *Topical Studies in Canadian History* (Toronto, Musson), is a useful little book, doing for Canadian history what Acland and Ransome's volume does for English history. It does even more, for it explains clearly and concisely the prin-

cipal features of national, provincial and municipal rule in Canada. Anything that will help the study of history in our schools is to be commended. Our young people, as the author, an experienced teacher, says, are deplorably ignorant of their own history. In the United States the study of American history has been carried to excess, and in many places almost excludes that of any other country. American history, in the early period, is but a footnote to European, and to study only the United States or Canada is to be provincial to the last degree. So much having been said, it still remains true that pupils in Canadian schools are more likely to be informed about the history of England than about that of Canada. Undoubtedly the literature dealing with Canadian is, on the whole, vastly inferior in quality to that dealing with English history, but, happily, there are signs that this condition is passing away.

Mr. George Johnson's *Alphabet of the First Things in Canada* (Ottawa, Mortimer Co.) is an extremely useful little book, covering much more than "first" things. The main features of Canadian history are summarized here. The article "Confederation" is a succinct history of the growth of the spirit of national union in British America. A list of the Knights Commander of St. Michael and St. George is given, but the Commanders of that order are omitted, as also are the Canadian members of the much more important Order of the Bath, of which Sir John Macdonald was a Grand Commander and of which Sir Wilfrid Laurier is a Knight Commander. Sir Oliver Mowat, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir J. William Dawson and many others do not appear as Canadian Knights. A long list of errors and omissions could be drawn up. The proof-reading has been careless. We have "Treaties" and then we turn to "Trolley" and "Tunnel," and come back again to "Treaties." Such defects mar the value of a book which ought, above all, to be accurate and well arranged.

Pierre Boucher et Son Livre is a reprint edited by M. Benjamin Sulte (Royal Society of Canada, 1896-97) of a frequently printed work on the manners and productions of Canada, which

appeared first at Paris in 1664. M. Sulte's introduction and notes are valuable. Boucher came to Canada in 1634, and was judge and governor at Three Rivers in 1665. He was the first resident of Canada to be ennobled by Louis XIV. (in 1661), and the fief of Boucherville at Three Rivers continues under the same name to the present day. Pierre Boucher lived for nearly a century, dying, aged ninety-five, in 1717. His wife did even better; she died in 1727, aged ninety-six, having lived to see her grandson himself become a grandfather. This indicates that the climate of Canada was found sufficiently bracing by these early settlers. M. Sulte claims that the Jesuit *Relations* misrepresent the real conditions in Canada between 1640 and 1660. The Jesuits were anxious to arouse sympathy in France for their work, and they pictured the situation in Canada in the darkest colours. The severity of the climate, the savage character of the natives, the infertility of the soil were all dwelt upon as a background for Jesuit heroism. In reality for five or six Jesuit martyrs there were two or three hundred of lay settlers. The Jesuit accounts say little about agriculture, although it was making considerable progress. Parkman echoes the Jesuit view. M. Boucher's work was written to depict for friends in France the real condition of Canada. The clerical party bought up and destroyed what copies they could, and now the original work is very scarce. In 1661-62 Boucher was in France, and M. Sulte ascribes to his influence the decision of the King and Colbert to convert Canada from a mission into a royal province. M. Sulte's *animus* against the Jesuits is obvious but he has done his editorial work with adequate information.

The Administration of the Old Régime in Canada (Montreal, The Author), is a thesis submitted for the degree of D. C. L. in McGill University, by Mr. Robert Stanley Weir. It is written in a fair and critical spirit, but is based entirely upon printed and easily accessible sources. Mr. Weir points out that feudalism, though nominally introduced into Canada in its entirety, never acquired here some of the features that belonged naturally to it in France. The obligations to military service were never enforced, the seigneurs administered justice only on

rare occasions, and never *la haute justice* involving the death-penalty; on the other hand the vassal or *censitaire* was obliged to grind his corn at the seigneur's mill, when the seigneur was rich enough to build a mill, which was not always; to work for the seigneur for a certain number of days in the year; to give him a proportion of the fish taken in the rivers, and to perform other trifling but vexatious duties. Even the *corvée* was enforced in Canada. When the Church and the seigneur worked in alliance there is little wonder that the peasants often took to the woods to live the wild fascinating life of the *coureurs de bois*. Yet government was less capricious and tyrannical in Canada than in France. The intendants, with the exception of the two last, were capable and wise administrators. Their powers and those of the governors were strictly limited, and they had no authority to modify the system under which they worked. From one thing Canada, unlike France, in the days of Louis XIV., was free. There was no religious persecution for there were no heretics to persecute. Mr. Weir, following M. Lareau, thinks that government had become an extravagant paternalism, when even barbers were obliged to have a royal license. But barbers were surgeons then, and surgeons, even now, must have a diploma. Quotations from authorities are sometimes made without indicating the source.

Le Gentilhomme Français et la Colonisation du Canada, by M. Léon Gérin, published in the volume of Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, is an indictment against the seigneurs in the period of French colonization. From the general considerations of the class of *gentilhommes*, as they were in France during the last century and a half of the Old Régime, he shows how ill-adapted they were to direct the colonization of such a country as New France. Their only career at home was the army or service at court. But loss of military ascendancy and disordered finances, necessitating less lavish expenditure on useless functionaries, forced the needy *gentilhommes* to seek their livelihood outside of France. There was a colony to be exploited and to it they flocked, receiving grants of land and clamouring for employment in the administration. But they took no steps to secure

cultivation of their estates, either by farming themselves or by bringing an adequate supply of peasants from the mother country. Several ordinances of Louis XIV. show how dissatisfied that monarch was with the progress of settlement in the colony. His dissatisfaction was justified. In 1679, more than forty years after the charter had been given to the Company of One Hundred Associates, and sixteen years after the king had interfered to hasten matters, there were only 22,000 acres under cultivation. In 1721 52,000 more had been cleared, an average of little more than 1,200 each year. But the *gentilhommes* found an industry, and a highly remunerative one, ready to their hands. The fur-trade was eagerly prosecuted by them, with the aid of the *courreurs de bois*, who took all the risk and hardship involved. All of the upper class in the colony became engrossed in this trade, and in consequence French traders kept pushing ever further and further into the woods, in search of new tribes of Indians to supply a more abundant harvest of skins. Thus the French colony was extending its bounds enormously, while neglecting every source of wealth save the one, and without really possessing any part of its territory except a narrow strip on either side of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec. The paper is very well written and the condition of Canada is described forcibly and clearly. The ideas, however, are not new.

Deeds that Won the Empire, by W. H. Fitchett (London), is the work of an Australian author, and is a series of sketches of battles chiefly in the Napoleonic wars. The aim is to tell "the story of the struggles and sufferings by which it [the Empire] has been built up." The tone of the book is good. The author sees the brutal side of warfare and does not vaunt its "brazen glories," but he sees also that the British Empire has not been built up without fierce struggles. His statement that "the sketches will be found to be historically accurate" is not always vindicated in the text; yet the book is well and carefully done. The narrative of Wolfe's victory at Quebec is only an echo of Parkman, but Parkman's story of the siege is perhaps his masterpiece. In these days when history must be rewritten every

decade it is nearly time that we had a new narrative of the memorable campaign of 1759. The Abbé Casgrain has published many new documents, and much material that Parkman did not know remains still unpublished. Casgrain, in his "Montcalm et Lévis," used most of it, but unfortunately his work has not yet been done into English.

The British Evacuation of the United States, by Howard L. Osgood, (Rochester, N. Y.), of which only thirty-five copies have been printed, is a concise and dispassionate outline of the principal causes of the retention of the frontier forts on the lakes, and the circumstances attending their ultimate evacuation in 1796, based on official documents. It has some historical value. The "dramatic incident" with which it ends rests on no real evidence and should have been omitted.

The Employment of Indians in the War of 1812, by Major Ernest Cruikshank, is a reprint from the Annual Report of the American Historical Association (Washington, 1896). The conduct of the British in employing Indians has been often censured. The Indians, however, were already in 1811 fanatically hostile to the Americans, owing to grievances which had been for years working in their minds. The British fur-traders had undoubtedly secured after 1763 a powerful hold upon the Indians of the west and had influenced them against the Americans. Some atrocious deeds were wrought by the Indian allies of the British during the war, but Major Cruikshank shows, by numerous quotations from official despatches, that the British officers used every effort to prevent these outrages, and to soften the ferocity of their savage allies. Brock was scornful of those whom he called a "degenerate race." The home government formally approved of the employment of the Indians, because their neutrality could not be hoped for, and to use them was only a measure of self-defence.

Drummond Island; The Story of the British Occupation, 1815-1828, by Samuel F. Cook (Lansing, Mich., the Author), is an

interesting account of a forgotten aspect of the relations between Great Britain and the United States after the war of 1812. One of the earliest incidents of that war was the unopposed capture by the British of Mackinac, an important trading-post on Lake Huron, near the entrance to Lake Michigan. In due course this territory was restored to the United States and the British garrison withdrew. The boundaries were still uncertain. St. Joseph, the adjoining British port from which Mackinac had been seized, was not well situated for defence and Colonel MacDonall, the British officer in command, determined to erect a fort on an unoccupied island east of Mackinac, commanding the approach to Sault Ste. Marie. Here the British laid out a town, with its streets and parks, built houses and planted gardens. The place was named Drummond Island, after the distinguished officer, Sir Gordon Drummond, who commanded the forces in Canada. For years the final ownership of the island was in doubt. The British, uncertain of their tenure, did not complete the proposed fortifications and the Americans were anxious to get rid of mischievous neighbours. Both sides intrigued with the Indians, who, on the whole, were in the British interest, but carried tales from one side to the other. At Mackinac they would beg the Americans for "a keg of milk" (*Anglice* rum) to give them strength to expose British wiles, and at Drummond Island they must moisten their lips in order to be able to tell the truth about the Americans. Possible renewal of the war was common talk and the situation was not without peril. For a dozen years the neglected British force held Drummond Island. Disease, especially scurvy, carried off a considerable part of the small force. There was no chaplain until 1828 and apparently no attempt to bury, to marry or to baptize with the rites of the Church. The boundary was agreed upon in 1822 by the commissioners of the two nations and Drummond Island fell within the American line. Yet the British held the place until 1828. In the late autumn of that year it was evacuated as hastily as it had been originally occupied, and ninety-one persons embarked in three small vessels, two of them flying the American flag, for Penetanguishene. The British left behind them their household

furniture and other valuables, which could not be crowded into the small ships. The site of their town was soon destroyed and now at Drummond Island

"There are broad and well-graded avenues, lined with Lombardy poplars, roads upon which was handled the heavy artillery, great chimneys of stone with their ample fire-places, marking where stood upwards of fifty buildings.

Apple, cherry, plum and pear trees are not infrequent and still yield their fruit. And at no great distance lies the city of the sleeping dead. At a number of the graves are large head-boards, thick and substantially prepared. Over the rounded top is an iron band to protect the grain of the wood from the weather, and the inscriptions made with black paint show not only unusual skill in lettering, but a rare quality of paint which has withstood the weather sufficiently to remain, after the rain and wind of half a century has (sic) worn away the wood around the letters so that they stand out in relief as though embossed."

Mr. Cook is not an entirely impartial writer, but his work rests upon original research and is of value as recovering what had been practically forgotten. He thinks that the British showed a peculiar degree of depravity in their dealings with the Indians. Reckless disregard of the welfare of the Indians there undoubtedly was, but it was not confined to the British side. Thousands of Indians visited the posts at Mackinac and Drummond Island yearly, and there is no doubt that the greater part of the pay for the furs which they brought was in the form of rum. Henry's Journal, reviewed elsewhere, shows this system of trade in daily operation with its deplorable results in murder and bloodshed.

The Niagara Historical Society has published a second pamphlet (*Niagara, Times* office), which contains two interesting papers, besides a poem by Mrs. Curzon on the centennial of the first parliament of Upper Canada. The first of these papers was suggested by a festival on the American side of the river to celebrate the 100th anniversary of England's surrender of Fort Niagara to the Republic. The author, the Rev. Canon Bull, discusses Great Britain's reasons for continuing to hold the posts and justifies her action. The second paper is by Miss Janet Carnochan, and in it she tells a story, gathered from three independent oral sources, of a small riot that took place in Niagara in 1837. There was a considerable population of run-away slaves in the neighbourhood, and the extradition of a recent arrival,

Moseby, had been asked on the ground of his having stolen a horse to make good his escape. Word was passed among the negroes in the vicinity that Moseby would be given up to his former master, and a movement was headed by Herbert Holmes, a coloured Baptist preacher, to rescue him. Moseby was confined in the Niagara gaol, and the negroes assembled, some three hundred in number, and invested the building. For three weeks the authorities postponed action, waiting for the excitement to subside and the negroes to disperse. It must be said that the sympathy of the white inhabitants was strongly enlisted on the side of the black people, whom they helped to feed during this protracted siege. The negroes showed no sign of departing, so the sheriff determined to deliver his prisoner to the American authorities across the river without more delay. Four bombardiers sat on the waggon that was to convey the prisoner out of the gaol-yard, the Riot Act was read, and the waggon appeared. It was stopped by the mob, the prisoner jumped down and disappeared in the crowd. He was not recaptured but made his way to England. Two of the negroes were killed, one of whom was the leader, Holmes.

Mr. John A. Cooper writes on *The Fenian Raid* of 1866 in the Canadian Magazine for November and December. He makes it abundantly clear that this invasion of Canada shortly after the close of the Civil War in the United States was ill planned and carried out, but that on the other hand the Canadian militia was unfit for active service, and very badly led. The moral that he hints at is that more attention should be paid to equipping and drilling the militia force in Canada.

Dr. J. G. Bourinot publishes in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897 an interesting paper, *Canada during the Victorian Era*. No country has seen greater changes during this era than Canada. The term meant, when Victoria began to reign, two provinces stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the great lakes and containing scarcely more than a million people. The principal trade then was in fish and lumber.

There were fourteen miles of railway. A bitter strife of races was going on in the eastern province, and in the west a fierce class-warfare. The large state of to-day, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with its great agricultural and manufacturing industries, is certainly a considerable expansion of that of 1837. Dr. Bourinot dwells especially upon the features of the political system evolved in Canada. He thinks that in giving all the praise for confederation to Sir John Macdonald less than justice has been done to the French Canadian leader, Sir George Cartier, who laboured unselfishly and wisely for the same end. The Canadian Confederation, appearing at a late date, had the experience of the United States for nearly a hundred years to learn from, and Dr. Bourinot thinks that Canada has avoided some of the practical defects which time has revealed in the American system. The national parliament in Canada has more power than the American federal government; ministers sit in parliament and are in direct touch with the legislative body; an appeal may be made to the people in Canada as in England at any time. Dr. Bourinot makes these and other points to which no doubt an academic reply could be given by advocates of the American system. The French republic began with the American system of ministers not responsible to the chamber. It is certainly an object-lesson in constitutional development that France has now turned from this to the English plan. In Canada the federal system is doing effectively one thing,—it is killing race dissensions between the French and English populations.

Wars on the Frontier of Canada (United Service Magazine for May) is the title of a lengthy contribution from the pen of Colonel W. W. Knollys. He reviews the military operations of 1775 and of 1812-4. His aim is to familiarize the readers of the Magazine with the history of the two wars, because he believes that in the event of another invasion of Canada, the theatre of the struggle would be that of the earlier conflicts. The attitude of the writer is not more partial than one would expect from an officer in the volunteer force of one of the former combatants. In discussing the conduct of Sir George Prevost, the author will

not be accused of being harsh. He says: "The British commander, though brave and energetic, always played a safe game." and his conclusion is that there is not sufficient evidence to render a final decision possible. There are a few minor inaccuracies in the paper. The account, however, is creditable; main facts are faithfully presented, and at times the description—notably that of the battle of Lundy's Lane—is spirited. The article is reprinted in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* (N.Y.).

Major Cruikshank continues his *Record of the Services of Canadian Regiments in the War of 1812* in No. 7 of the "Selected Papers from the Transactions of the Canadian Military Institute" (Welland, printed for the Canadian Military Institute). It is the 104th Regiment whose fortunes he now follows. They made a remarkable march on snowshoes through New Brunswick to Quebec in the winter of 1813, and were in the neighbourhood of Kingston in readiness for the impending campaign before the spring. It had taken twenty-four days to go from Fredericton to Quebec, and fifty-six in all, including a halt at the latter city of more than a week, to accomplish the entire journey to Kingston of 760 miles. Major Cruikshank gives a graphic description of the engagements in which the various detachments of the regiment were engaged, at Sackett's Harbour and Fort George in 1814, and at the assault of Fort Erie in the following summer. The last unlucky attack was especially fatal to the 104th, for out of eighty officers and men taking part no less than fifty-six were put *hors de combat*, including Lieut.-Colonel Drummond, who led the assault.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (Lévis, Quebec: P. G. Roy) during 1897 continues its useful work. Mr. Brymner's statement that the name "Zachary Macaulay" is not found in documents after 1786 is controverted by the Abbé Audet, who finds it as late as 1803. He was thus certainly not Lord Macaulay's father; probably he belonged to the family which gave a well-known judge, Sir James B. Macaulay, to Upper Canada. An account of a younger brother of Wolfe's rival, Montcalm, is

given, which is quite incredible. This young prodigy learned his letters while in the cradle; when three years old he read French and Latin without difficulty; at the age of six he was reading Greek and Hebrew. Before he was seven years old he frequented libraries and the society of *savants* and died while still in his seventh year! The late M. Faucher de St. Maurice inquires concerning certain *émigrés* of the French revolutionary period who were aided by the British government to come to Canada under the leadership of the Comte de Puisaye to found a colony, and asks if they succeeded. They did not. The scenes of the attempt were Windham, near Toronto, and the Niagara river. The members of the party were quite unsuited by their training for the rough work of colonization and they drifted to other scenes. One of the number, Mr. St. George, remained and became a well-known merchant in Toronto. The Comte de Puisaye died in England in 1827. If space permitted many other points discussed in this valuable publication might be noted.

The volumes of Mr. Sidney Lee's *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith Elder) which have appeared in 1897 contain some notices of especial interest in Canada. Sir John Beverley Robinson was a loyalist driven to Canada from what is now the United States, by the American Revolution. He served against his former countrymen in the war of 1812 and became ultimately Chief Justice of Upper Canada. John Rolph, "Canadian insurgent and politician," was one of Robinson's chief opponents, who was obliged to take refuge in Russia after the rebellion of 1837. He subsequently became conspicuous as a physician in Toronto. Sir John Rose taught school at Huntingdon, Quebec, as a youth. He became an advocate, entered political life, and was the first finance minister of the Dominion of Canada. His later years were spent in London, where he was *persona grata* in high circles. Alexander Ross came to Canada in 1805 and settled at Glengarry, Ontario, joined Mr. Astor's expedition to found Astoria, and sailed in the ill-fated *Tonquin* for the mouth of the Columbia River. Later he became prominent in the Red River country as an official of the Hudson

Bay Company. His son, James Ross, was educated at the University of Toronto and became a member of Riel's provisional government in 1870. With its aims he can have had little real sympathy. Egerton Ryerson was an energetic pioneer of education in Upper Canada whose name is still a household word. He was of loyalist descent. He was an ardent Methodist while to his brother William Ryerson was due the establishment of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in Canada. Charles Michel de Salaberry, "the hero of Chateaugay," distinguished himself in the war of 1812 by checking the American advance upon Montreal. He is conspicuous as the first French-Canadian soldier to take a prominent place on the British side. Jonathan Sewell was a loyalist from Massachusetts, who became Chief Justice of Lower Canada. He published in 1814 "A Plan for the Federation of the British Provinces of North America," an anticipation of later events. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature in this list of names is the predominance of the loyalist element.

In the November and December numbers of the Canadian Magazine, Dr. J. G. Bourinot contributes the first two of his series of twelve illustrated articles on famous men and incidents in Canadian history, from the Norse and Cabot voyages to Confederation. The two papers are respectively entitled, *The Discoverers of the North-Eastern Coasts and the St. Lawrence Valley*, and *The Founders of New France (1604-1713)*. The introductory papers show that burdensome details, unnecessary dates and tedious discussion of controverted points will be eschewed in a consistent effort to popularize Canadian history with Canadian people. The illustrations are in good taste, and increase the vividness of an interesting narrative.

In the Catholic World for April *La Salle's connection with the Jesuits* is discussed by J. W. Wilstach on the basis of information derived from M. de Rochemonteix's work on the Jesuits. La Salle's character is interpreted adversely, largely on account of his having deserted the order in which he served a novitiate.

Un Soldat de Frontenac devenu Récollet, by the Abbé Gosselin, is hardly worthy of a place in the publications of the Royal Society. It traces the career of an obscure French soldier who became a friar and died at Montreal in 1733.

The Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck, edited by R. E. Leader (London, Arnold), recalls to memory a statesman of a past generation who has some place in Canadian history. In a sense Roebuck was a Canadian, for part of his early youth was spent in Canada. Born in India in 1802 of well-to-do parents, he went to England when five years old and the family was soon stricken with poverty by the death of his father, an East India Company official. There were certain ties with Canada; Roebuck's uncle had been secretary to Governor Simcoe and had met with a tragic fate:

"As he was crossing the Niagara river in a small boat, a short and severe 'flurry' of snow came on. When this cleared away the boat and its occupants had disappeared forever" (p. 11).

Roebuck's mother was granted five hundred acres of land near York (Toronto) in requital, and this, no doubt, led to the emigration of the family to Canada in 1815. They settled, not near York, but at Augusta, on the St. Lawrence, not far from Brockville. Here, and later at Beauport, near Quebec, Roebuck's youth was spent. With his brothers he worked on the farm at Augusta. They toiled hard at their daily rough labour, yet in the family was kept up the somewhat formal courtesy of English upper middle-class life of that day. They held aloof from the less cultivated neighbours—a mistake as Roebuck saw. The description of the Loyalist settlers has an interest now:

"The population of the district mostly consisted of the descendants of those Americans who adhered to the side of the mother country in the War of Independence. These people emigrated to Canada as being still an English possession, and were known as U. E.'s (United Englishmen) (*sic*). They were in their habits and manners American, it being impossible to find any difference between them and the Americans on the other side of the river" (pp. 21, 22).

The formation of the Canadian forest, the abundant game, the marvellous sudden opening of spring, the canoeing on the St. Lawrence continued to exert a powerful effect upon Roebuck's mind for the rest of his life. He left Canada, a young man, to

study law in London ; and, though his family remained and his mother lived until 1842, he never recrossed the Atlantic. He became a prominent Radical. In 1838 he appeared before the House of Commons and the House of Lords to champion the claims of the Assembly of Lower Canada, and to oppose the suspension of the Canadian constitutions. His efforts were in vain. He, however, supported Lord Durham, and tried to soften Lord Brougham's animosity against that statesman's mission. His later career had little reference to Canada, but he was an early advocate of the confederation of the provinces.

An interesting sketch of the career of *Charles Buller* is given in the September Cornhill Magazine by his cousin Sir Edward Strachey. Buller belonged to an old whig Cornish family, which controlled as many as four pocket-boroughs. He grew up in the days before the Reform Bill, and one of these seats was reserved for him by his father. Yet he became a "philosophical radical," influenced possibly by his private tutor, Thomas Carlyle. Lord Durham was the leader of this wing of the whig party, and when, in 1838, he came to Canada, Buller came too as his secretary. The question of the authorship of Lord Durham's famous report is much disputed. Probably it had, as such copious political reports usually have, several authors. At the time it was said that "Gibbon Wakefield inspired it, Charles Buller wrote it, Lord Durham signed it." Lord Durham, however, was not the man to be merely an official mouth-piece, and without doubt he did his part in shaping the report. In some respects this document was mischievous. It aimed avowedly to effect English ascendancy over the French in Canada, and to create not a federal union, but a single state in which the French should be powerless. This alarmed the French. It intensified their national feeling and they were able to keep Canada divided practically into two provinces. The inevitable result was the deadlock which made the federal system necessary. Lord Durham and his secretary saw that Canada needed responsible government; apparently they did not see that the war of races could be ended only by a federation. Buller's early death cut short a brilliant career.

In the Canadian Magazine has appeared a series of articles on the premiers of the different provinces of Canada. Since the confederation of the four great provinces in 1867 to form the Dominion of Canada, there has been a growing tendency in each to study the history, circumstances, and peculiarities of the others. The three younger provinces have become, since they entered confederation, objects of interest in a similar way. The premiers and cabinet ministers of the Dominion are well known throughout each of the seven provinces; those of each province are for the most part known only within their own territory; and naturally, for the questions which agitate the Dominion parliament are debated in the seven provinces, while provincial affairs excite little interest outside. A growing interest in the men and movements in all parts of Canada is distinctly observable among all classes now, and to this may be attributed these articles which have attracted some degree of attention. The most interesting and valuable are by Mr. J. S. Willison, editor of the *Toronto Globe* and deal with the premiers of Ontario. The four men who have held this position are John Sandfield Macdonald, Edward Blake, Sir Oliver Mowat, and A. S. Hardy. These four men have filled a larger space in the public eye than any other four provincial premiers. Mr. Willison's reputation is steadily growing. He is something more than a journalist, and his estimate of the late John Sandfield Macdonald will probably be accepted as almost final. That, too, of Mr. Edward Blake is, perhaps, even more masterly and explains with great frankness and acuteness the abilities and limitations of a very eminent man.

The Canadian Parliaments are dealt with in The Leisure Hour for August. The history of the legislatures of the province of Canada is briefly sketched, and their peripatetic nature is ascribed to the desire to allay any feelings of jealousy between the French and English sections. Most of the article is, however, devoted to the Dominion parliament. The anonymous author is very much impressed with the striking natural grandeur of the site of the parliament buildings. He is wrong in stating that the constituencies are re-arranged after every census; the "gerry-

mander" has not yet become statutory. Doubtless he has in his mind the decennial adjustment of provincial representation under section 51 of the British North America Act. The political patronage in the hands of parliamentary representatives is, he believes, a worry, and of doubtful advantage to the member in his constituency. The franking system surprises him.

"I shall not forget the look of amazement with which I was received by one of the window clerks in the House of Commons post-office, when I sought to buy some stamps. 'You should hunt up your member,' remarked a Canadian who stood behind me at the window."

The comments upon the payment of indemnities, the complicated appearance of the Franchise Act, the friendly disposition of the railways toward members of parliament, show a commendable acquaintance with the mechanism of our government. The more frequent appearance of such articles in British publications would be of great utility.

The United Service Magazine for June contains a very readable criticism of *The Canadian Militia*, by Captain Henry J. Woodside, Canadian Cavalry. The militia of Upper Canada (now Ontario) was organized in 1812, but the militia of Canada as a whole is traced back to the days of the French *régime*. The Canadian militia have proven their metal on many a battlefield, but like the military arm elsewhere under the British flag, they are systematically neglected in time of peace. Captain Woodside states his belief that neither the country at large, nor the legislative body desires to enfeeble the militia. The difficulty to his mind is that the militia has played the rôle of the weaker sister to the other departments, getting what they do not require. He urges, later on, that Parliament instead of seeing how little it can do for the volunteer forces, should strive to see how much, knowing that in time of stress they will repay the care bestowed upon them. Biennial drills were inaugurated many years ago to reduce expenses. One result was a fall in the strength of the militia from 45,000 to 35,000 men. Happily, the earlier and more efficient plan of drilling the whole force annually has lately been re-adopted, though to carry out the scheme a further reduction to 25,000 men is contemplated. The seemingly excessive proportion of officers to men (one to twelve) is really a mark

of the sagacity of the government. In the event of hostilities it is much easier to get men than officers. As every male inhabitant of Canada, with few exceptions, is liable to be called out for service, it is estimated that Canada could in a few months raise 500,000 men. The trouble would be to arm and equip them. But the decreased efficiency of the militia is not attributed solely to biennial drills. Another cause is the hand-to-mouth nature of the militia estimates. If they were voted a year in advance, officers could know months beforehand the time of their camp, and good men would have time to arrange for substitutes in the factory and on the farm. The author does not take a pessimistic view of the future of the Canadian "National Guard." New arms, new accoutrements, non-shoddy clothing, yearly drills, prompt replies by the department to letters of commanding officers and, finally, less "wire-pulling," will do much, he thinks, to restore this branch of the service to a high degree of efficiency.

The Royal Military College of Canada, situated at Kingston, is a public institution which people in general know very little about. It is popularly assumed to be an aristocratic, expensive and therefore exclusive, seat of military education. This opinion is not founded upon fact. Major-General T. Bland Strange, the first commandant, in the United Service Magazine for July, explains the nature of the work done by the college, and the article coming from one so competent to write upon the subject merits perusal by more than military men. The college was founded in 1876. The course of study, which occupies four years, and is therefore longer than that of any similar institution in Europe, is not exclusively military. The curriculum is so broad that a graduate is fitted for civil as well as military employment, and is admitted to the study of the professions upon the same footing as a graduate in arts. The college dormitory, "the stone frigate," so called because occupied by gun-boat crews in 1812, can accommodate sixty cadets. These are nominated, after the custom in the United States, by members of Parliament. The uniform of the cadet is that of British officers, but they have the arms and valise equipments of private soldiers, and contrary to the usage

in similar establishments, they pipe-clay their own belts, clean their own arms, etc. The result is that the "R. M. C." turns out officers with unusual sympathy for the British recruits delivered into their hands. Major-General Strange points with pride to the very high repute in which the Canadian graduates are held by the British authorities (who grant four commissions to them annually), and to the good manners, neatness and manly straightforwardness which characterize them. The article is fairly well written, though the style inclines to the rhetorical. At times it is difficult to see the relevancy of a paragraph, but the general character of the paper is good, and it is unquestionably instructive.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

Newfoundland in 1897. By Rev. M. Harvey, LL.D., F.R.S.C.
With map and 24 illustrations. London: Sampson, Low,
Marston & Company, Limited. 1897. Pp. xii.-203.

Newfoundland is the oldest English colony. It enjoys the additional preëminence of being the least known. Discovered five years after Columbus had given a new world to the old, it yet remains, to many minds, a *terra incognita* shrouded in mists and fog.

The coincidence of the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria and the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Newfoundland successfully appealed to the Rev. Dr. Harvey—an acknowledged authority—as an excellent opportunity to dissipate the gloom and to draw public attention, first, to the natural resources and capabilities of his island home, and secondly, though incidentally, to the approaching Cabot celebration. A thorough acquaintance with the island, wide knowledge and literary skill demonstrated in books and articles upon the history of Newfoundland, commend the former undertaking; the frequency of the allusion to the latter event may be partially explained by the author's claim (revealed in appendix iii.) to have initiated the movement for the celebration.

The first four chapters are devoted mainly to sketching the discovery and earlier history of the colony. In the controversy over the landfall of Cabot, the author throws the weight of his opinion in favour of the Cape Breton theory. Newfoundland, in his view, was discovered in the course of the first voyage. Dr. Harvey deplores the early death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert:

"Had he lived and succeeded in planting a colony, the cultivation of the soil would have gone on hand in hand with the fisheries" (p. 53).

The island, after the death of Gilbert, fell into the hands of the greedy fishing adventurers of the West Country. These earlier monopolists desired to keep exclusive possession of the shores for drying their fish, and by urging that the fisheries would be ruined by a resident population and that in any case the island was utterly

unfit for human habitation, they procured the enactment of laws which to all intents and purposes prohibited settlement under heavy penalties.

In spite of these iniquitous laws the huts of resident fishermen began to dot the shore. Thereupon, the monopolists obtained an ordinance from the Star Chamber of Charles I. (afterwards in 1698, re-enacted by the British Parliament), which declared that the master of the first English vessel arriving in a harbour was to be admiral—absolute ruler—for the season, with the right to take as much of the beach as he chose for his own use. The captains of the two vessels next to arrive were to be vice-admirals, with liberty, as regards the shore, to follow the example of the first. These men were, of course, servants of the West Country "cormorants."

"They took possession of the best fishing-stations, drove out the inhabitants from their own houses when they chose, and seized their gardens and fishing-grounds. In determining cases they took bribes without any pretence at concealment, and carried on for many long years a system of robbery and oppression" (p. 68).

But the colonists persevered in the assertion of their rights, and finally triumphed, although it is only eighty years since the last of the unjust laws against settlement were repealed.

Until seventy years ago there were no roads of any kind through the island. Newfoundland being considered a mere fishing-station, the sea was considered the only natural and proper highway for the fishermen. But a "daring innovator," in the person of Governor Cochrane arrived and taught the people the convenience of a land-highway so thoroughly that by 1870—in less than half a century—they had 3,000 miles of roadway. In addition to this the reports of the Geological Survey, appointed in 1864, began to attract attention and the people learned by degrees that the interior was not the traditional rock and morass of the monopolists, but a fertile area containing millions of acres of good land with vast forests and mineral deposits. To open up this vast country, Sir William Whiteway, for many years premier of the colony, made railway construction the chief article of his political creed, and sixteen years after the turning of the first sod, in 1881, he saw the completion of 700 miles of railroad.

Dr. Harvey describes the development of mining. The discovery of copper—the chief metal of the island—was due to the geological prescience of Sir William Dawson. From the nature of the formation he believed that copper existed on the north-east coast. He gave a hint to a prospector named McKay, who profited so well by it that, in 1857, he discovered copper ore near the fishing village of Tilt Cove, and in a most romantic manner, verified the prediction of the eminent geologist. The receipts from the copper-mines for the period 1864-1891, were over \$9,000,000 (p. 90). Iron has recently been discovered and the ore is admirably situated for cheap exploitation. It lies almost on the surface and when the thin soil is removed the workmen with crowbars and pickaxes can raise many tons a day. Asbestos, lead, gold, and what may be of more importance, very extensive beds of coal, have also been found. The author is justly sanguine as to the great mining future of the colony.

There are also agricultural and lumbering possibilities. Chapter VII. should be read by prospective emigrants. According to the census of 1891, only 179,215 acres of land were occupied, and yet the value of the products of farm and forest of that year was over \$2,250,000. Authentic reports and surveys show that there are 4,480,000 acres available for settlement in this island, which, although one-sixth larger than Ireland, has at present only 210,000 inhabitants.

The fisheries, though declining in value, are, however, still the principal source of island wealth, realizing about \$6,600,000 annually. The cod-fishery is not the only valuable one. Dr. Harvey gives a vivid, though, at times, magniloquent account of the seal fisheries, and describes, rather floridly, some of the pathetic aspects of this industry of which we are now hearing so much on our Pacific coast (p. 183).

The scenery of the island is striking. Visitors have felicitously named Newfoundland "The Norway of the New World."

"The external rocky ramparts of the island are apt to be repellent to the passing voyager; but within these frowning outworks, up the great fiords, with their countless branches, along the banks of the rivers and brooks, among the rolling hills, and over the great 'barrens,' are scenes of rarest beauty; and over all, in summer, is a sky blue and serene as that of Italy, and more varied in its changing aspects" (p. 154).

Perhaps the greatest misconception relates to the climate. Dr. Harvey is anxious to correct an erroneous and harmful impression. The island is *not* fog-enveloped for a great part of the year. It is only when the southerly or south-easterly winds blow (and they are prevalent, though not continuous, during but four months of the year), that the fogs engendered on the "Banks" appear. They seldom penetrate far inland, and with the coast enveloped in fog the sun will be shining brightly a few miles inland and the air will be dry and balmy.

"Taken as a whole, the climate of the island is more temperate and more favourable to health than that of the neighbouring continent. The fierce summer heats of Canada and the United States, and the intense cold of their winters, are unknown here" (p. 109).

It is but rarely that the thermometer goes below zero in winter or above 80° in summer.

Of course Dr. Harvey discusses the great grievance of the island—the treaty rights which the French exercise over almost one-half of the coast. It is vain to rail against the mother country, for the French have repeatedly declared that they will not upon any terms surrender the rights guaranteed by treaty. No one understands the situation better than Dr. Harvey and his words are wise.

"The present time calls for moderation, self-control and the exercise of that good sense which will calmly look the facts in the face" (p. 171).

The book appears at an opportune time, and if widely read, cannot but fulfil its author's expectations of "making the country better known, and attracting to it that attention which it richly merits." The island has been maligned and misunderstood and it is time for the truth to be recognized. The perusal of "Newfoundland in 1897" will remove many misconceptions—old as the days of their sponsors, the adventurers and fishing admirals—which militate so severely against its advancement. The book however would have been even more effective if there were fewer repetitions and less frequent turgidity of style. The habit—most prominent in the earlier chapters—of quoting trite and insipid expressions is irritating.

G. C. SELLERY.

The Tenth Island. Being some account of Newfoundland, its People, its Politics, its Problems, and its Peculiarities. By Beckles Willson. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Sir William Whiteway, and some remarks on Newfoundland and the Navy by Lord Charles Beresford, C.B. London: Grant Richards. 1897. Pp. xix.-208.

Mr. Beckles Willson's book on Newfoundland is the work of a London journalist, and has the faults and virtues of its origin. The language is journalese and some of the sentences are truly wonderful in grammatical structure. Sometimes he is laboriously humorous. When he refers to the history of the island he rarely ventures beyond what he finds in Judge Prowse's invaluable work. With him the United States are almost always "America." In describing the French system of bounties for fish, he tells us that "French shippers have actually offered and *sold* fish to Spanish merchants in Bordeaux *for nothing*" (pp. 99, 100)—a truly extraordinary phenomenon. These minor defects show that we must not expect too much in the way of historical knowledge or of exactness from Mr. Willson. Yet he is a man of the world with considerable powers of observation, and he states the problem regarding Newfoundland in a distinctly fresh and attractive manner.

Mr. Willson believes in islands. Newfoundland is The Tenth Island. He does not give a list of the other nine, but Great Britain, Ireland, the Japanese group, Borneo, Ceylon, Jamaica, New Zealand, are no doubt among them. The political future of the world may, he thinks, lie with islands. Hitherto Newfoundland has had scant justice. She is "the Cinderella of the Colonies," and her story is the old, well-worn tale of commercial selfishness throttling natural development. Not until 1820 were vexatious restrictions in regard to building and to cultivation of the land removed, and Newfoundland has not yet recovered from the reputation that she acquired during her long bondage, of being a sterile land of chilly fogs, unfit for anything but a fishing station. Her natural resources, as Dr. Harvey too shows, are very considerable. There are great forests, some of them with trees three feet in diameter. The land of the interior is fertile and

quite unsettled as yet. There are twenty thousand farms offering, and no takers. The vast plains covered with prairie grass make good grazing land, and "ranching" would be profitable, Mr. Willson thinks. He describes the successful farming of two young men, brothers, sons of a clergyman. They started without capital and have prospered, and thousands more could do the same thing. Instead of importing agricultural products, Newfoundland should be an exporter. What is needed is to dispel the *idée fixe* that she has no agricultural advantages.

Mr. Willson was quite startled when he realized that Newfoundland is distant only three and a half days from England, by fast ship. She is thus the colony nearest the mother country. Her maritime situation in America is similar to that of Great Britain in Europe, of Japan in Asia. Parallels are of course delusive, but given a good climate, fertility, and mineral riches, it seems as if convenience of access to two great continents should furnish Newfoundland with advantages that will make her great. In Canada there is a good deal of apathy about the acquisition of Newfoundland. It is feared that the debt-burdened island, with its fierce political factions, would add an unpleasant complication to our many problems. Above all the French-shore question frightens a country already embarrassed by a French question. Mr. Willson repeats a story from the London *Daily Mail* of January 1st, 1897, which shows what this difficulty really is. Captain Cunningham, a gentleman well known in the mining world, became convinced that Newfoundland was a suitable field for mining investment. He spent about one hundred thousand dollars in sinking prospecting-shafts, opening roads through the forest, etc., the scene of his operations being Ming's Bight on the north shore. One day a French war-ship arrived off the coast. Captain Cunningham was told that his operations interfered with French claims. These are in effect that the French, while not owners of the shore, must not be *disturbed* upon it; they had already temporarily checked the building of a railway to the west shore on the ground that the shriek of the locomotive would disturb not them but the fish which they were trying to catch. Captain Cunningham visited the

admiral upon his ship. He was courteously received, but in effect was told to go, not to London, but to Paris, for permission to continue his work. He set out, but stopped at London *en route* to report his case. Here his appeal to Paris was vetoed. It might prejudice delicate negotiations then pending. They are still pending, and Captain Cunningham has meanwhile lost £20,000 through the French-shore question.

This story illustrates the real grievance. The French are keenly alive to their treaty rights on the Newfoundland shore, and cannot be blamed for preserving them to the utmost. A strong national sentiment upon the question exists—the outcome of the centuries of struggle between France and England for supremacy in America. In the eighteenth century Louisbourg was the centre of French interest in the North Atlantic. Now it is St. Pierre, and France is probably equally ready to make the sacrifices for St. Pierre that she made for Louisbourg. St. Pierre commands the shores of Newfoundland as Louisbourg did those of Nova Scotia. The commercial side of the life of the two French posts has the same characteristics. The New England traders carried on an illicit trade with Louisbourg as they and Canadian traders do now with St. Pierre. St. Pierre is practically a free port. Spirits in particular are very lightly taxed, and the enormous importations are far beyond the possibility of consumption by the small population of the French island. It is not difficult to imagine whither the surplus goes. The shores of the lower St. Lawrence have been the scene of a huge illicit traffic which is only now being decisively checked by Canadian revenue cruisers. Though the trade of St. Pierre is not unimportant, the value of the island in France's eyes is more sentimental than real; yet because it is sentimental the determination to hold it and rights that go with it is all the stronger. France will cling to this, her last foothold in North America. If Great Britain does not feel acutely this thorn in her side, Newfoundland does. Mr. Willson claims that France has herself violated in many ways the terms of the treaty under which she holds her islands, and especially in the matter of fortifying St. Pierre. Certainly the British Foreign Office has not been lately as agree-

sive regarding this question as has the French. The delicate relations in Egypt, where the English stand to win, have made them less careful to avoid giving France cheap gratification in Newfoundland. It is a study in imperial statecraft which is not very promising for the obscurer parts of the Empire.

After all, however, the French question is settling itself, for the French shore is becoming less valuable as a fishing-ground every year. The municipal council of St. Pierre has been obliged to offer a special bounty to fishermen on the French shore in addition to the national bounty paid to all fishermen on the Banks. Judge Prowse declares that the French have not a dozen vessels and not two hundred fishermen on the shore now. The cod indeed seems to be changing his habitation and disaster is in store in the near future for all the fishing interests of Newfoundland.

Of civilization in the island Mr. Willson does not give an entirely pleasing picture. The community is peculiarly isolated. The cable touches Newfoundland but leaves little. Intercourse with the outside world is slight, small local issues absorb attention and newspaper blackguardism flourishes in Newfoundland as it hardly does even in the wild west. The colony possesses the governmental machinery of a great state and its politics are sufficiently debased to cause the observer much searching of heart regarding dogmas as to the fitness of all Anglo-Saxon communities for democratic government. Yet Newfoundland is distinctly moving on the up-grade. Capital has been found to build the railway across the island, and it is perhaps prophetic of future closer relations that it is a Canadian capitalist, Mr. Reid, of Montreal, who has come to the rescue. He has built the railway and holds now enormous tracts of land, for which he will no doubt try to secure settlers. The people of the island are proud of their British nationality. Mr. Willson says that President Cleveland's Venezuela message completely killed any idea of joining the United States.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in a vigorous letter at the beginning of the volume, explains certain objections which he has to mentioning the "loyalty" of the "colonies":

"I dislike the word 'colonies' and, if you look through my verses, you will find I very seldom use it. It is out of date and misleading, besides being provincial. In the second place, there is no need to talk of 'loyalty' among white men. . . . That is one of the things we all take for granted—because the Empire is Us—We ourselves ; and for the white man to explain that he is loyal is about as unnecessary as for a respectable woman to volunteer the fact that she is chaste."

Les Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions Étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762). Par l'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain. Quebec : Pruneau & Kirovac. 1897. Pp. 462.

The Abbé Casgrain's work must always command respect. He is indefatigable in research and nobody else has brought to light so much new material for the history of New France. The present work illustrates his industry. The Public Record Office in London, the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, the manuscript—and, one may add, extremely well cared for—records of the seminary at Quebec, all have been used. Learned as his work is, the style is yet attractive. The Abbé is a master of the French language, as are few, if any, of his countrymen in the province of Quebec. With all these good qualities M. Casgrain's work is yet open to criticism in some respects. He is too ardent, he espouses a side and marshals arguments skilfully in support of his view. It is a defect of temperament, rather than of will, for no one is more generous to opponents than he, but it is a defect that always appears. The present volume is a description of the work of French missionary priests in Acadia before 1763. Undoubtedly they were devoted men, but without any cynical unbelief in human nature, one may still suspect that these good men had some human infirmities. To the Abbé they are always holy and apostolic. The bias of his nationality is seen also in his obvious satisfaction at the French conquest and desolation of Newfoundland under Iberville. Similar outrages committed by the English in Acadia are awful examples of human depravity. The Abbé too holds always a brief for the ecclesiastical power. If there are any faults on the French side he is free to condemn the government ; the church gets only praise. Mascarene, the governor of Nova Scotia, was French by birth. He became a

Protestant and, perhaps owing to the policy of the *dragonnades*, was expatriated. For this he is a traitor to his faith and his country. What praises would not the Abbé have for a Protestant who became a Catholic?

Making allowances for these perhaps minor defects, the Abbé's work is entirely praiseworthy. Undoubtedly the Sulpitian missionaries and those from the seminary at Quebec did heroic work in Acadia. The Jesuits and the Récollets were also in the field. It is interesting to see that some of the missionaries were men who had grown weary of court and camp and had taken refuge in the church. The work in Acadia had little worldly promise and yet the missionaries held their ground until after Quebec fell before Wolfe. Their work among the Indians was effective and permanent. To this day, of the large number of Indians in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, probably not one is a Protestant. The isolation of the field in Acadia enabled the French there to show what they could do if undisturbed by rival influences. They fraternized with the Indians. The English method in New England was essentially different. They were not content until they had crushed the Indians' power and asserted their own superiority. The French showed a less haughty spirit and in Acadia the Indians were devoted to their cause. M. Casgrain draws a distinction between two classes of missionaries. Some went to the Acadians, some to the Indians. Those who went to the Acadian parishes were bound by the same oaths of fidelity to Great Britain as were the conquered Acadians. The missionaries to the Indians, of whom the well-known Le Loutre was one, were, the Abbé holds, bound by no such oaths. The Indians had not acknowledged British sovereignty or taken any vow of fidelity to that Crown. The position of the French priests was a very difficult one. They would have been more than human if they had not sympathized with France rather than England; they were subject to instructions from Louisbourg or Quebec which were still under the Crown of France. The English accused the priests of being in the French interests; the French retorted by accusing them of serving the English. The final conquest of both Louisbourg and Quebec solved a difficult problem by ending the

missionary work. It began again later, and at this day the flourishing Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are served mainly from the Seminary of Quebec and that of Saint Sulpice at Montreal.

A Compendious History of the Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick, and of the District of Gaspé in Lower Canada. By Robert Cooney. Reprinted in 1896 by D. G. Smith at Chatham, Miramichi, New Brunswick, from one of the original copies printed by Joseph Howe, at Halifax, in 1832. Pp. 288.

The author of this early attempt to write the history of the province of New Brunswick was a convert from the Roman Catholic Church, who was born in Ireland in the year 1800, and, embracing the Wesleyan Methodist faith, settled in St. Catharines, Upper Canada. He several times changed his residence, and a considerable part of his life was spent in the maritime provinces, where he appears to have made many friends, and to have occupied a very good social position. Besides his history, he wrote "The Autobiography of a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary," which was published in 1856, and many sermons, lectures and pamphlets. He was a man of ideas and originality, and a keen observer. The other day it will be remembered that Mr. Foster, the then Minister of Finance in Canada, in a speech on England, referred to her "splendid isolation" among the great European and other nations. The phrase attracted attention, and some attempts were made to discover its source. Mr. Foster made no sign, but assumed the responsibility for the remark. That he, at one time or another, had read so well-quoted a book as Cooney's history of his own province, it would be unreasonable to doubt. This is what Cooney said in 1832, in the introduction to the present volume. Speaking of the disorganized state of Europe in 1809-10, he observes :

"In the midst of this terrific commotion England stood erect; wrapt up in her own impregnability, the storm could not affect her; and therefore, while others trembled in its blast, she smiled at its fury. *Never did the 'Empress Island' appear so magnificently grand,—she stood by herself, and there was a peculiar splendour in the loneliness of her glory.*"

The italics are ours. Mr. Cooney's history possesses a peculiar value. In the strict sense of the word it is not a "history." It is an account of the early settlement of the great northern portion of a well-wooded and well-watered province, largely settled by Scotsmen, engaged in the lumbering and fishing business. The story of their trials, and of the growth and development of industry is eloquently told, and the statistics are trustworthy. In dealing with the shipping, lumber, and milling interests, Mr. Cooney is always on safe ground. On the other hand most of his history is based on tradition, and he makes curious mistakes. His reading of original documents was not extensive; few, perhaps, were accessible to him, and printed books, that he could possibly have seen, were, apparently, not within his knowledge. A good many of his statements are qualified by the remarks, "I believe," "I have heard," "I think," etc. It would be easy to point to errors in dates, and to the omission of names which should appear in a work of this character, but the value of the book lies in the faithfulness with which the English settlement of the counties of Northumberland, Kent, Gloucester, and the district of Gaspé is described. The resources of these vast tracts are presented with great care, and the unbounded faith which Mr. Cooney had in the future of the land he discusses, attests his loyalty and devotion to the country of his adoption. He treats agreeably of the natural history of the province. Every animal, every plant that he encountered is referred to, and some of the information is quaint and amusing. The chapters on the rivers of New Brunswick are exceedingly valuable. He seems to have investigated personally everything connected with them.

Mr. Cooney had not a very good opinion of the lumberman of 1832.

"All the capital he required," says he "was the faculty of lying. Could he unblushingly tell a plausible story, assuring the merchant that he had found a capital chance, or a fine grove, taking care at the same time minutely to calculate the number of large trees either contained, extensive credit was obtained without further ceremony."

Small wonder it is then, that "master lumberers" multiplied with "astonishing fecundity." The author points out how this business was overdone and led eventually to disasters, which only

the prosperity of years to come could alleviate. He deplores the easy credit which prevailed in those days, and regrets that more farming and fishing, and less lumbering, did not occupy the attention of the inhabitants. The exports of fish were always entirely too small, and the over-production and shipment of lumber and timber made prices in England far too low to yield a profit.

To the district of Gaspé only eight pages are given. They deal with the geographical position and early history of the peninsula. The sketch deals fairly with the fishing interests of the place. It covers the exciting political period, when Mr. Robert Christie, himself the author of a valuable history of Lower Canada, was repeatedly expelled by the House of Assembly, though just as often his faithful constituents returned him to the Legislature as their favourite spokesman.

Cooney's history was originally published by Joseph Howe, to whose enterprise at that early period we are indebted for Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia, still regarded as a classic in the sister province. The present publisher reprints Cooney because a demand has arisen for it, and but few copies are known to be in circulation. As the work is so frequently quoted, he reproduces it, from the introduction to the last page, exactly as it appeared for the first time. The number of pages and of lines to a page, as well as the beginning and termination of every line, are the same, so that any references in other publications to Cooney's History, will apply to the present edition. On the score of typography there will be no complaint, but the paper could easily have been better.

GEORGE STEWART.

History of the County of Annapolis, including old Port Royal and Acadia. By the late W. A. Calnek. Edited and completed by A. W. Savary, M.A., Judge of the County Courts of Nova Scotia. With portraits and illustrations. Toronto: William Briggs. 1897. Pp. xiv.-657.

This is a big book. Probably no one will read it through from cover to cover, but there is much in it both of general and of merely local interest. Annapolis was the scene of the earliest French, Scottish and English holdings within what is now the

Dominion of Canada. Its early history is a history of first things. Here the first French permanent habitation was built, the first attempts to establish an agricultural colony and to plant feudalism in America were made. Here English and French first came into conflict for supremacy in America. When the French were driven out for a time, Scotland, then a separate state, stepped in, and Annapolis became the scene of a Scottish settlement, the first attempt by the northern kingdom to take up the work of colonization. Then the French came back. England and France struggled for the place for nearly a century, and finally, in 1710, the English drove the French from Port Royal; over the newly-named Annapolis the British flag was raised, and Annapolis thus became the first portion of Canada to be occupied by the British. To-day the quiet Nova Scotian village treasures the memory of an eventful past. The village youth play cricket within the embankments of the old fort, and they look out upon a scene as fair as any in America. The splendid Annapolis Basin attracted the beauty-loving French most of any spot in Acadia. These western shores of Nova Scotia are indeed far more attractive than the eastern. The land is, on the whole, good, the climate is very like that of England and the people who now dwell there are, by industry and sobriety, building up a stable commonwealth.

The greater part of this book was written by the late Mr. Calnek. It cannot be denied that his style is sometimes very prolix, yet it has little of the *gaucherie* that usually is found in local histories. The editor, Judge Savary, has added much to the book, and is too modest when he calls his task only that of editor. Much of the information is archæological, relating mainly to the sites of early buildings. The families of the district are traced genealogically, and the advent of the American Loyalists is chronicled with abundant knowledge. Judge Savary gives a chapter on the now well-worn subject of the expulsion of the Acadians. His sympathies are with these poor people; he blames the British for purposely breaking up families and so scattering them that reunion was necessarily impossible. Judge Savary testifies to the virtues of the Acadians, and he ought to know.

The district of Clare, near Annapolis, in which he exercises his judicial functions, is settled by returned Acadians. They are now a progressive community, comparing favourably in many respects with the English settlers. It is pleasing to see a writer, whose natural sympathies would be with the English conquerors, doing frank and full justice to a people who suffered much.

There is, apart from local genealogies, very little original research in the book. Many of the well-known printed authorities have been used, but not all. Captain Knox, who served later at the siege of Quebec in 1759, was at Annapolis for a long time (1757-58), and describes fully in his *Journal* the life there. It is from him, more than from any one else, that we get a clear idea of the bitter warfare which the Indians and the Acadians who were left in the country waged against the English. He tells, too, of the almost total neglect by the home government of this pioneer British post in Canada. The garrison was often on the verge of starvation, the soldiers half naked, the ramparts in ruins, the paymaster without funds for the pittances of the men. Finally, in May, 1759, to Knox's intense delight, his "inglorious exile" at Annapolis came to an end.

Besides the omission of such material, the book has some mistakes in regard to names, which, however, only slightly impair its great value.

Louisbourg in 1745, edited by Professor George M. Wrong, M.A., and published by the University of Toronto as one of a series of studies in history, is a reprint and translation of the only unofficial French narrative—the *Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg*—that is known of the famous siege by New England militia troops in 1745. The original was printed in that year shortly after the siege ended, and copies of this edition are now rare. The legend is "A Québec, Chez Guillaume le Sincère à l'Image de la Vérité," but the small volume, in reality, was surreptitiously published in France. The author, an eyewitness, shows a familiarity with French affairs that betokens the man of business, as well as the travelled and critical observer. He points out how that curse of French colonial administration—official

dabbling in trade—prevented the success of the French attempt to check the English by the capture of Annapolis Royal in 1744, and encouraged the New Englanders to plan, in retaliation, the capture of Louisbourg. He declares that the King supported most of the inhabitants of Louisbourg, and, casting an envious eye upon the prosperity of New England, urges that when Louisbourg is restored as he thinks (and rightly) that it will be, the King should encourage ship-building and thus foster trade, make the colonies less dependent and help to restore to France the vanished navy of Louis the Great. Though a professed admirer of "that precious love of liberty of which the English show themselves so jealous," he cannot understand the autonomous character of the New England commonwealths.

"These singular people," he remarks, "have a system of laws and of protection peculiar to themselves, and the governor carries himself like a monarch. So much is this the case, that although war was already declared between the two crowns, he himself declared it against us of his own right . . . as if it were necessary that he should give his warrant to his master" (p. 37).

The tension between General Pepperrell and Commodore Warren does not escape his notice.

"On the 21st an officer came to propose, on the admiral's part, that, if he must surrender, it would be better to do so to him, because he would show us a consideration that, perhaps, we should not find with the commander of the land force" (p. 57).

According to our informant the capitulation was made to Warren, and not, as our histories have it, to Pepperrell. The comparison of the two officers is not to the advantage of the militia general.

"The admiral had his men well under control, and showed us all the attention that one could expect from a generous and compassionate enemy. . . . The commander of the land forces had not the same consideration for us, and allowed us to be pillaged by his troops, in violation of the good faith due to our capitulation, and of the public security" (p. 64).

The language of the author, in spite of obvious literary blemishes, has a certain eloquence and epigrammatic force; and if we pardon the patriotic augmentation of the British forces and kindred exaggerations, the letter will be found to be a valuable and suggestive addition to the historical materials relating to one of the most dramatic incidents in colonial history.

The Diary kept by Lieut. Dudley Bradstreet of Groton, Mass., during the siege of Louisbourg in 1745 (Massachusetts Historical

Society), is new material for the history of that eventful siege. We owe it to the researches of Mr. Samuel A. Green, treasurer of the society, who furnishes adequate editorial notes. The diary is of great interest. Many of the New England soldiers were in the habit of keeping these records; from the French side nothing of the kind has come to us. We have the things noted which impressed the Puritan officer most, and some of the entries are quaint enough. Temperance, in the modern acceptance of the term, was a less frequent virtue then than it is now, and our diarist mentions one case of a man who entered a house and apparently drank himself to death on the spot. The whipping-post was much in requisition, one man being punished thus for robbing a corpee. Bradstreet declares that when the bombs fell in Louisbourg the shrieks of the women and the children could be heard in the English camp, and he notes the desertion of some Swiss soldiers from the garrison, which confirms what is known of the discontent among these mercenaries. The splendid Grand Battery and lighthouse excited his admiration. After the capitulation we are able to trace the progress of disease among the victors by the daily entries up to the crowning record of a visit to the hundreds of newly made graves. Sermons represented the greatest interest of the author. He notes the texts from Sunday to Sunday, and even the psalms and the hymns which were sung. His scorn of the Catholic system appears when he says:

" May 24 The french Capt. Died this Day that was wounded & Taken ye 17 Day he offered Ten Thousand Pounds for a fryar To Pardon his Sins before he died and I would have done it my Self as well as any fryar or Priest Living for $\frac{1}{2}$ ye money " (p. 16).

In the July number of the Canadian Magazine, Mrs. C. A. Randall writes entertainingly of *Picturesque St. Pierre*, one of the tiny remnants of French empire in America. The island is of value chiefly as a station for the French vessels fishing during the summer on the Banks of Newfoundland. The little French town nestles on the hillside and from a niche between the cliffs a large image of the Virgin keeps watch over the harbour beneath. The inhabitants cling tenaciously to the traditions of their Norman homes. The "Tambour" rolls his nightly drum

at 10 o'clock for lights to be extinguished, the women wash the family linen at the riverside, and faggot-gatherers, as we might see them in old pictures, pursue their labours in the dusk. The people are very devout. Three times has the town been visited by fire and the last time the pious peasant fishermen vowed upon their knees to carry the Virgin's image yearly through the streets, if she would protect their homes against the flames. Mrs. Randall describes the procession. The beadle, in his brass buttons, leads, with mace in hand, and girls, marshalled by the nuns, and boys by the monks, follow. After them come the virgins, arrayed in pure white and bearing aloft the image, chanting choir-boys in white surplices and scarlet cassocks, and lastly the dignitaries of the island. The charm of the place is indefinable. It seems like a stage on which a mediæval play is being enacted. The article is replete with records of quaint customs and amply repays perusal.

In the Canadian Magazine for March, Mrs. J. D. Edgar contributes *A Page from the Early History of Newfoundland*. The island was practically unknown to Europe until Cortereal visited it in 1500. In 1610 a patent was issued to Francis Bacon and others, comprehensively styling them "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the Cities of London and Bristol, for the Colony and Plantation of Newfoundland." Their colonizing efforts ceased in 1614. Seven years later Sir George Calvert secured an interest from this Company and sent out a small colony. He received glowing letters from his colonists, (he had expended £25,000 in erecting buildings), and in 1623 became absolute proprietary of the whole south-eastern peninsula with a ten-league jurisdiction over the ocean. In 1628 Sir George Calvert, now become Lord Baltimore, visited his western domain. After about a year he wrote to King Charles, "from the middlest of October there is a said fayre of wynter upon all this land . . . by means whereof and of much salt meat my house hath been a hospital all this wynter," and asked permission to try colonizing in Virginia. Lord Baltimore left Newfoundland to his hardy fisher-folk, who grew and multiplied, and incident-

ally fought the French until the Peace of Utrecht. The article contains some quaint extracts from letters of the period. Too much space is devoted to the life of Lord Baltimore. Still, the article does not belie the title Mrs. Edgar has given it.

Mr. Francis W. Grey writes on *The Expulsion of the Acadians* in the American Catholic Quarterly Review for October, 1897. The article is based mainly upon Mr. Richard's "Acadia," published in 1895, and, like Mr. Richard's book, contains nothing new. The subject has now been pretty thoroughly threshed out. The only justification for any attempt to tell the story over again would be the discovery of new material.

The short note read before the Royal Society in 1896 by the late Dr. Patterson on *The Last Years of Charles de Biencourt* tells us something new about one of the early French leaders in Nova Scotia. It has been hitherto supposed that Biencourt remained near Port Royal as leader of a tiny French colony which continued there after Argall's seizure of the place. Dr. Patterson shows that he was Director of the Royal Academy at Paris in 1621. This probably means that by that time the French in Nova Scotia had submitted to Sir William Alexander's rule and abandoned their claims.

To the author of "Sam Slick" belongs the distinction, unique for Canada, of having a literary club dedicated to his memory. This club marks the growing estimation of the work which he performed and the fading away of the idea that he was simply a humourist. That he was a political philosopher who strove continually to broaden the outlook of his fellow-countrymen, to make them look at politics from the standpoint of the Empire and not of the parish, and that he did so under the guise of a ready-witted itinerant Yankee peddler has not yet been fully realized. Under the auspices of the Club is issued *Haliburton, a Centenary Chaplet* (Published for the Haliburton Club, King's College, Windsor, N.S.). The Club has fortunately been enabled to publish, as an introduction, a biography written by his son, Mr. R.

G. Haliburton. This reveals the influences which helped to develop Haliburton's satire and practical wisdom. The appreciative essays contributed by Mr. Scott, of Windsor, N.S., and by Mr. F. Blake Crofton, of Halifax, are admirably suited for the purpose and form an excellent commentary on Haliburton's writings. It is to be hoped that many who know nothing of "Sam Slick" except the name may be induced by this book to make a thorough acquaintance with one whose best work is full of practical pithy sayings, occasionally rising to eloquence. No later writers show the intimate acquaintance with Nova Scotia, its scenery, its people and their manners, which Haliburton possessed. The bibliographical contribution by Mr. Anderson is unfortunately incomplete, but so far as it goes it is an improvement upon the list which appeared in the "Bibliotheca Canadensis." It should not, however, have been necessary for a club which has been in existence for some years to go to London for the bibliography of the most important author in Nova Scotia. The volume is one which no one who wishes to study Canadian literature can afford to be without.

The *Leaves from Juliana Horatia Ewing's "Canada Home,"* edited by Elizabeth T. Tucker (Boston, Roberts Brothers), is a sketch of Mrs. Ewing's life at Fredericton, New Brunswick, where some of her best work was done. The many who have been charmed with "Jackanapes" and "The Story of a Short Life" will be glad to have this glimpse of the author during a time barely mentioned in Miss Gatty's Life. Major Ewing and his bride came to Fredericton with the 22nd Regiment in 1867, and remained for two years. They threw themselves heartily into the life of the place that for them was more like a quiet English cathedral city than a town on the edge of the Canadian backwoods. Fredericton as described here is distinctly of the old world. The life of leisure in which Mrs. Ewing and her husband study Hebrew, under Bishop Medley's direction, the beautiful cathedral with its richly toned chimes, the daily services, the sketching parties, have all a flavour of the life of a long established society. Mrs. Ewing was enthusiastic about Canada, and took a keen delight in both the canoeing of summer

and the snowshoeing of winter. To Yorkshire friends who pitied her she says,

"In this glorious autumn weather it does indeed seem a 'need not' for you to be distressing yourself, as you sit in the bogs of dear old Yorkshire, about us in our bright clear atmosphere" (p. 122).

Her husband is the author of the well-known tune to which is set the hymn "Jerusalem the Golden," and like his wife entered heartily into the life of the place. The book is beautifully printed. The reproductions in colour of Mrs. Ewing's sketches show that she had greater literary than artistic ability.

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were not to be cleared and inhabited so easily, and many a reversion and re-grant took place before the colonists had increased in numbers sufficiently to take actual possession even of that fringe of territory which bordered upon the St. Lawrence river, the natural highway from one end of the province to the other. There were other conditions of tenure, most of which were harmless or even beneficent. If ever the *habitant* thought himself burdened with unreasonable exactions by his feudal superior, he could have recourse to the Intendant or to the royal courts at Quebec, which were only too ready to interfere between seigneur and *censitaire* and to reform the conditions of tenancy in favour of the latter. In this respect, again, the strict feudalism of the original charter to the company of One Hundred Associates had been greatly mitigated by the constitutional changes under Louis XIV. Seigneuries were no longer conceded with "basse, moyenne, et haute justice." The Intendant of the colony was charged with the administration of justice, and police and royal officials heard all important cases. One incident of the seigneurial system bore hardly, as time went by, upon all, seigneurs as well as *censitaires*—the mutation fine or payment to be made to the feudal superior upon alienation of land by sale. The penalty for thus interfering with the natural law of inheritance was one-twelfth of the purchase-money for a *censitaire* and as much as one-fifth in the case of a seigneur. As wealth accumulated, this restraint upon the alienation of property was a hindrance to economic development. The full value of improvements was not recoverable by the occupant should he dispose of his property by sale, and the knowledge of this checked enterprise and industry or diverted them into the channels of trade. By the year 1854 the disadvantages of the system had become so apparent that it was necessary to abolish it. The Canadian parliament passed an Act in that year to convert all the peculiar dues and privileges of the seigneurs into a rent-charge, and to provide for tenure of all land in *franc-alléu*, the French equivalent of the English fee-simple.

In the *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* M. Roy has undertaken an exhaustive history of one of the most interesting

(2) The Province of Quebec

Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon. Par J.-Edmond Roy.
1er Volume. Lévis: Mercier et Cie, 1897. Pp. lxiv-
496-lxxxvi.

The title of this work reminds us that it was but the other day, comparatively speaking, that a Canadian parliament abolished that belated remnant of the social antiquities of Europe, the Seigneuries of the lower province, replacing their mediæval obligations by the modern incidents of land-tenancy. The method of the earliest colonization of New France explains the origin of the seigneurial system. Prior to the 17th century, isolated explorers and traders alone had penetrated the country. But in the charter given by Richelieu to the company of One Hundred Associates, a basis was laid for permanent occupation. The company was to be feudal lord, owing allegiance and doing homage to the king of France, but with absolute power to distribute grants of land, organize a militia, administer justice, and exercise a monopoly of trade. The latter feature chiefly occupied the attention of the company's officers, but still concessions of seigneuries and farms were made, and the system of tenure was established. After about forty years the charter of the company was rescinded and New France was converted into a royal province, under a governing body appointed by the king. Administration of justice and military control were vested in this Sovereign Council, but all other incidents of feudal tenure were retained.

The seigneurial system in Canada was but a convenient mode of promoting the settlement and cultivation of the land. Enormous tracts were granted by company or Crown, sometimes with a patent of nobility attached, but the condition of the grant was that the land should be cleared within a prescribed period. A second and hardly less vital feature of the system was the prohibition to sell uncleared land. Merely speculative transactions in promising localities were thus impossible, and none but *bond fide* colonists would seek for concessions. But the vast forest-covered areas comprised in the original seigneuries

were not to be cleared and inhabited so easily, and many a reversion and re-grant took place before the colonists had increased in numbers sufficiently to take actual possession even of that fringe of territory which bordered upon the St. Lawrence river, the natural highway from one end of the province to the other. There were other conditions of tenure, most of which were harmless or even beneficent. If ever the *habitant* thought himself burdened with unreasonable exactions by his feudal superior, he could have recourse to the Intendant or to the royal courts at Quebec, which were only too ready to interfere between seigneur and *censitaire* and to reform the conditions of tenancy in favour of the latter. In this respect, again, the strict feudalism of the original charter to the company of One Hundred Associates had been greatly mitigated by the constitutional changes under Louis XIV. Seigneuries were no longer conceded with "basse, moyenne, et haute justice." The Intendant of the colony was charged with the administration of justice, and police and royal officials heard all important cases. One incident of the seigneurial system bore hardly, as time went by, upon all, seigneurs as well as *censitaires*—the mutation fine or payment to be made to the feudal superior upon alienation of land by sale. The penalty for thus interfering with the natural law of inheritance was one-twelfth of the purchase-money for a *censitaire* and as much as one-fifth in the case of a seigneur. As wealth accumulated, this restraint upon the alienation of property was a hindrance to economic development. The full value of improvements was not recoverable by the occupant should he dispose of his property by sale, and the knowledge of this checked enterprise and industry or diverted them into the channels of trade. By the year 1854 the disadvantages of the system had become so apparent that it was necessary to abolish it. The Canadian parliament passed an Act in that year to convert all the peculiar dues and privileges of the seigneurs into a rent-charge, and to provide for tenure of all land in *franc-allou*, the French equivalent of the English fee-simple.

In the *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* M. Roy has undertaken an exhaustive history of one of the most interesting

localities of the province of Quebec, perhaps the richest in historical associations after the cities of Quebec and Montreal. The seigneurie comprised a block of land some eighteen miles square, and fronting on the St. Lawrence for about a dozen miles above Quebec and four or five miles below it. It corresponds to the modern county of Lévis, with an additional slice of the northern part of the county of Dorchester. By diligent search in record-offices and among the registers of parish churches the author has been able to furnish formidable genealogies of the early colonists and to trace the successive owners of the farms since the original grants were made. His work, however, is much more than a mere transcript and compilation of notarial documents. He has described the lives of the early settlers with sympathetic insight, and followed the careers of the more interesting personalities beyond the limits of the seigneurie, in which some of them passed but a few years. Incidentally, too, he has revealed something of the social and political life of the colony. The disputes and intrigues in which anyone connected with the seigneurie of Lauzon was mixed up are reported. The labours, too, of the Jesuit missionaries and of the *curés* have not been forgotten.

The first explorations of the country subsequently included in the Seigneurie of Lauzon were made by direction of the untiring Champlain. He learned that the friendly Abenakis, whose winter head-quarters were in Maine, were in the habit of reaching the St. Lawrence in summer by following the Chaudière River, which entered the St. Lawrence within the boundaries of the seigneurie. Missionaries, as well as exploring parties, penetrated the country to the south by that difficult route, and repeated attempts were made, without success, to convert it into a regular means of communicating with the Acadian colony. It was always of strategic importance in the event of hostilities between the New England colonies and Canada, and was used by invading parties of either nation. The most famous expedition by this route was that of Benedict Arnold against Quebec in 1775.

The first concession of the seigneurie of Lauzon was made in 1635, the year after Champlain's death. Jean de Lauzon was

intendant of the company of One Hundred Associates, and provided himself and his sons with large estates in the colony of which he was afterwards governor. The family retained possession of this seigneurie until 1689, and in 1691 we find the widow of the last seigneur of the name selling it to a creditor of her late husband's for the sum of 4,000 *livres* or \$800 of our money. The insignificance of the price is no indication of the real value of the estate, since it appears that the agent or *fermier* of the late owner, no less a person than Bermen de la Martinière, member of the *Conseil Supérieur*, had been making a very comfortable income for himself for twenty years out of fishing and other rights.

Among the *censitaires* of that early period of the seigneurie there are many examples of enterprise and thrift. The first colonist was Guillaume Couture, a well-known man, who had been in captivity among the Iroquois, and was subsequently admitted as a member of their tribe. It was, perhaps, the immunity from attack gained by his adoption that encouraged him to settle on the seigneurie of Lauzon. The south shore of the St. Lawrence river was dangerously accessible to the savage foes of the French, and the colonists who ventured to settle on that side followed the plough "with their guns slung at their backs," to use the expression of M. Roy. The picture that he gives of the constant vigilance of the farmers lends a new romance to the commonplace operations of sowing and reaping. Another remarkable man who had been one of Couture's earliest fellow-colonists at Pointe-Lévy, and his predecessor as Seigneurial Magistrate was François Bissot. He combined commercial enterprise with farming. Besides engaging in the seal-fishery along the coast of Labrador, he built a tannery at Pointe-Lévy which did a thriving business, and his son-in-law and partner, Charest, even introduced the manufacture of shoes for the settlers as part of the leather industry, thereby arousing the hostility of the shoemakers at Quebec. An edict of the paternal government soon put a stop to the latter venture, however, and the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the shoemakers of the towns was assured to them. The zeal of the parish priests contributed to the growing

prosperity of the settlement, and we find one of them, Boucher by name, not only inducing new colonists to take grants of land in his parish, but actually establishing and carrying on a small manufacture of benches and boxes.

The greatest need of the colony was men, a need recognized by the French government when at Colbert's suggestion a premium was put upon early marriages and large families. Parents who married their sons at the age of 18 (M. Roy gives it as 16, but this is probably an oversight) or their daughters at 14 received special favours, and substantial rewards were given for fifteen or even ten children.

The manners and customs of the early colonists are frequently illustrated in M. Roy's narrative, but he is inclined to draw too roseate a picture. Contemporary accounts do not represent the inhabitants as models of industry, sobriety and piety. Constant warfare with the hostile Iroquois, and the recollection of the cruel butchery that followed the surprise of farm-house or settlement by these enemies were not calculated to foster sentiments of humanity. When five Iroquois were captured on the St. Lawrence river in 1660 they were tortured at Quebec with all the refinements of barbarity that the Indians themselves employed, and finally were burned alive. About the same time a judgment that decided a piece of litigation concluded with the direction that parties to the suit should embrace in the presence of the judge and promise to be good friends in future. The contrast of savagery and simplicity is patriarchal.

The author must be congratulated on the skilful arrangement of the book. The narrative proceeds chronologically of course, but by detachments, following the fortunes of one group of interests until a natural halting-place is reached, then taking up another and carrying it forward for a stage. In this way pleasant variety is secured and the curiosity that has been aroused on one topic is satisfied without the distracting intrusion of others. Census-lists and extracts from parish registers are certainly not susceptible of popular treatment, and the average reader will find some of the chapters dry, but the most repellent statistics have been happily relegated to the *pièces*

justificatifs. It is a pity that the lives and careers of the most noteworthy characters have not been written with more regard to personal treatment. The tangled web of La Martinière's dealings with the seigneurie has already been alluded to; the author's account of them is both confused and inadequate. As he has already devoted a separate work to the Conseiller he perhaps felt absolved from further analysis of his hero. In the frequent references to La Martinière, there is, by the way, a solecism which may be Canadian, but is certainly not French. The particle "de" should be used before a surname only when preceded by a title such as Monsieur, or when the full name is given of which the surname forms a part. M. Roy, however, uniformly speaks of La Martinière as "de la Martinière" and once he even inverts the error by calling him "M. la Martinière." It is always necessary also to remind French writers that "Sir Logan" is not the mode of designating Sir William Logan which is accepted by the best authorities.

The Habitant and other French-Canadian Poems. By William Henry Drummond, M.D., with an Introduction by Louis Fréchette, and with illustrations by Frederick Simpson Coburn. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897. Pp. x; 137.

The Habitant is a masterpiece of the printer's art. Many of Dr. Drummond's verses have been published and are well-known, but this is the first time that they have been collected in book form. They are not dialect poems, but rather the attempts of unlettered people who think in French to speak in English. A dialect is the native tongue of a people and expresses fixed local usages. The French-Canadian *habitant* of Dr. Drummond is trying to speak to English people in their own language. The terms used would vary in each case in proportion to the speaker's familiarity with the strange language. In a sense, therefore, Dr. Drummond is freer to choose the speech of his characters than would be a writer interpreting a fixed local dialect. In common would be this feature that all *habitants* would have a tendency

to give the French sound to the vowels and consonants in English words. The result of this on the lips of unlettered men is often curious enough. Strange and wonderful is the English of the *habitant* and Dr. Drummond's rendering of it is admirable. In one respect he has not made it as strange as it really is. The Frenchman has great difficulty with the use of the letter "h" in English words, and, oddly enough, he commits the fault of the cockney and inserts "h's" when they are not required. This peculiarity Dr. Drummond has overlooked. In the poem "De Papineau Gun" he makes the speaker say :

" De English don't ack square dat tam."

What the *habitant* would probably say is :

" De Henglish don't hack square dat tam."

Mr. A. M. R. Gordon who has recently published an amusing and capitally illustrated *jeu d'esprit* in this lingo upon *Sir Wilfrid's Progress through England and France in the Jubilee Year* (Montreal, Sterling Publishing Co.) has noticed this peculiarity :

" An' w'en Sir Wilfrid's voice dey hear
An hees fine shape dey see,
De men of France was hall surprise',
De ladies hall *épris*."

Sir Louis Fréchette, in an introductory note, writes appreciatively of Dr. Drummond's work, saying that he has taken an illiterate class, shown their tastes, peculiarities and sentimentalities truly and humorously, and yet without one touch of caricature. The *habitant* of these pages is the French-Canadian who treasures a traditional affection for France, but is full of goodwill to the English and the English *régime*. He remembers that if the French-Canadians fought against the English long ago, in more recent times they fought side by side with the English against the invaders of their country, and Chateaugay has softened the memories of the Plains of Abraham. Dancing, of which the *habitant* is very fond, the life of the lumber camp with its homely fare of pork and beans, the work of bringing logs down the river, the charms of the hunter's life in which the *habitant* acts as guide to the wealthier English and Americans, the mountain scenery, the winter cold and snow, all are pictured in these charming poems. The more sober features of the social life come out too.

The Catholic Church keeps her children face to face with the great fact of death, and this is not forgotten by Dr. Drummond. The homesickness of the expatriated ones who have gone to the United States, in obedience to the conditions that impel them, is told in a touching way :

"It's very strange about dat bell,
go ding dong all de wile
For when I'm small garçon at school,
can't hear it half a mile ;
But seems more farder I get off
from Church of Saint Michel,
De more I see de ole village
an' louder soun' de bell."

The *habitant* is not idealized. There is humour and truth in Dr. Drummond's picture of the girl who is courted by the well-to-do village notary. Her *fiancé* is a working-man absent in a lumber camp. The fascination of the notary's big house is, in the end, too much for the girl. She marries him. There are, however, no heroics when the absent lover returns. He marries some one else and all are happy.

Dr. Drummond's English-speaking *habitant* represents only a small portion of the French in the province of Quebec. By far the greater part as yet speak only a few words of English, and the speech of these verses would be as strange to them as English itself. It is only the French in the parts adjoining the Eastern townships, the French who have seen something of the United States, and the French in the cities and larger towns who speak at all like this. The tongue of the rustic French-Canadian is to-day in the main the unchanged language of his forefathers.

A word should be said in praise of Mr. Coburn's illustrations, drawn from life and nature, and showing great vigour. As Dr. Drummond says, they "are most typical, both of the people and the soil."

The *History of Compton County*, by L. S. Channell (Cookshire, Que.: Channell), is a large quarto volume, the greater part of which is a kind of glorified census of the present inhabitants. Besides age, place of birth, occupation, date of marriage, and number of children (with their respective names, ages, etc.), the previous history of each householder is likewise briefly sketched.

The most interesting of these biographical notices is one of the late John Henry Pope, a friend and colleague of Sir John Macdonald for many years. The historical portion of the volume is of little value, consisting of ill-arranged extracts from well-known histories, or summaries of the original researches of such writers as Bouchette. The book is well printed, and copiously illustrated from photographs of citizens and their houses.

M. Ernest Gagnon's *Le Palais Législatif de Québec* (Quebec, Darveau) is a description of the new parliament buildings at Quebec, written rather in the style of a blue-book. The buildings themselves are on the whole successful, distinctly after the type of the French Renaissance and reminiscent of the Louvre. Their situation, looking out over the St. Lawrence and the Laurentian slopes, is surely one of the finest in the world.

Mr. Edward Farrer is an able journalist, and his opinions, though not always accepted, are entitled to careful consideration. In the Forum for March he deals with *New England Influences in French Canada*. This is in another guise the problem which Lord Durham attempted to solve in 1838—the future of the French-Canadian. The causes of the exodus from the province of Quebec to the New England States are not political, but economic. Quebec soil is thin, and the arable land has been overcropped. The rush began with the depression of agriculture about 1880. The clergy have tried in vain to divert the immigration, but New England is near, and the factory wages are preferred to wheat-raising in Manitoba. The exodus is not sporadic, but organized.

"In winter, committees are formed to prepare a list of those intending to emigrate, so that a special rate may be obtained from the railroads. When spring comes the trains are crowded with young and old bound for the land of promise. Others go in the fall after the crops have been gathered, and return in the spring; these are known as *hirondelles*. The village band accompanies the party to the railroad; the *cure* gets some to sign the pledge, and gives his blessing to all. *La fièvre des Etats-Unis* is so general that, as Father Lacasse, a distinguished Oblate, observes, 'We are all asking in a whisper—what is going to become of the race? What is going to become of Canada?' In some parts churches have been closed because of the flight of so many people. Every parish contains abandoned farms. The *hirondelles*, on returning for the summer, describe in glowing

terms what they have seen, telling in particular of 'those of ours,' who have won distinction in the professions, or are making money in business."

The movement is not uniformly in the one direction. When work is scarce in "the States" there is a backwash, but with the revival of business the migration of the most active of both sexes follows. There are 1,200,000 French-Canadians in Quebec; there are, according to the census of 1890, 840,000 in the United States. Mr. Farrer introduces a brief examination of the causes of the fecundity of the *habitant* by a comparison of the French in America with their European brethren. Statistics of French fishermen from St. Malo (who come annually to fish on the banks of Newfoundland) and of Canadian *Malouins* by descent show the average weight and height of the Frenchman to be 148 pounds and five feet five and one-quarter inches; of the Canadian 155 pounds and five feet and three-quarter inches. The average French-Canadian family numbers six (this does not include those who have migrated); five is the average in France. These figures must refer only to adults. French-Canadian fruitfulness is ascribed, first, to natural selection; the sea voyage and evils incident to a new country of rigorous climate cut off the weaker emigrants, and left only the more vigorous: secondly, to artificial selection; peasant girls dowered with vigour of body rather than beauty having been sent out in large numbers to become the wives of the early settlers. "It is easy to believe with Colbert that the product of these marriages was, physically speaking, *une marchandise choisie*." Of the specific results of contact with New England Mr. Farrer mentions first and foremost that the clergy no longer dread American institutions. When the movement southward began the bishops were very bitter against "a nation of money-getters without respect for religion or authority." But the old prejudice has largely disappeared. One hundred and twenty churches and fifty convents, not to mention seminaries, testify to the continued piety of the expatriated French-Canadians. And this is not surprising. The clergy are the natural leaders of the people. The first emigrants came from the most religious provinces of France. The savage nature of the country promoted devotion, and the absence of any system of self-government threw the people back in a

believing age on religion. The conquest increased the devotion of the *habitant*. It substituted an alien and non-Catholic king for His Most Christian Majesty, and on the Church was centred the affection formerly divided between State and Church. The authority of the clergy, though not so great as formerly, is still considerable, for, while not free from the weakness of their caste, they are, as a body, men of exemplary bearing, and their graceful submission to the southward movement is promoting their influence. The French-Canadians are learning English. Canadians have hailed this as a token of coming consolidation. Mr. Farrer iconoclastically avers that it is not the desire to make themselves more thoroughly Canadian but rather the wish to gain an easier livelihood in New England that is the impelling force. Many will not agree with his conclusions. The spirit of the times, the world over, is leading people to acquire English. It cannot be that the French-Canadians have consciously set to work at English with such a definite motive. The effect of the proximity of New England upon Canadian politics, upon ultramontanism and kindred topics are discussed. Mr. Farrer's paper is ably written. He states the case with studious moderation, but there is an under-current of suggestion that the broader interpretation of the whole question means the annexation of Canada to the United States.

A Visit to the Trappist Monks at Oka (English Illustrated Magazine for September), is a concise but interesting description of the monastic life in a Canadian trappist monastery. To Oka, a stony region near the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, there came, sixty years ago, a small band of the famous order founded in France in the twelfth century. Since then the monks have done the pioneer work which their mediæval prototypes excelled in, and the desolate valley has been made fruitful. The eighty members dwell together in a large granite building, surrounded by extensive gardens. The trappists are vegetarians, and as a happy consequence their system of gardening has been highly developed. Strangers visiting the monastery are hospitably entertained. The guests' *menu* on the occasion of this visit is given, and if the common table is as well supplied, the question of reviving mediæval conditions of living might be raised

with advantage. The rule of silence binding the trappists is observed in the spirit rather than the letter, and a suspension of it is granted on the occasion of intercourse with the outside world. The monks rise at 2 a.m. and retire at 7 p.m.

In *Nicolas Le Roy et ses descendants* (Quebec, Coté), M. J.-E. Roy has pursued the pious task of writing the history of his family from the first ancestor who settled in Canada, in the year 1663, to the youngest descendant born last year. The name Roy is common in Canada, and the author enumerates thirty-six families of that name distinct from his own. He also briefly notes some Roys that are settled in France. The little book is a record written for the family, and is mainly a recital of births, deaths and marriages. Some details are given of transfers of land in the early period.

M. Charles Langelier has issued as a pamphlet a lecture delivered by him before the Quebec Bar entitled *John Buckworth Parkin, Avocat et Conseiller de la Reine* (Lévis, Roy) Parkin was born in England, but like Sir John Macdonald he was brought to Canada in infancy. He was called to the bar of Lower Canada in 1837, and gained a reputation for consummate skill in conducting difficult cases and for his power over a jury. It was as a criminal lawyer that he won his triumphs. He died in 1875

In the little biographical sketch of a French-Canadian priest, entitled *Le R. P. Bouchard, missionnaire apostolique*, by Mgr. Henri Têtu, (Québec: Pruneau et Kirouac), we have, oddly enough, a contribution to military history, for part of it relates to the expedition under Lord Wolseley that failed to relieve General Gordon at Khartoum. Père Bouchard had been attached to the Roman Catholic mission in the Soudan from 1879 to 1882. In the latter year he was sent by his superiors to Canada for the purpose of collecting money in aid of the missionary diocese of Central Africa. While he was thus occupied in this country, the disastrous defeat of Hicks-Pasha occurred. Then followed Gordon's heroic attempt to pacify the country, and the tardy resolution of the English government to despatch a military force for his rescue. The bishop of Central Africa,

who had retired from the Soudan to Cairo, at once recalled Père Bouchard to Egypt, since his knowledge of English would render him of great service to the army. He was at the same time asked by Lord Lansdowne, then governor-general of Canada, to act as chaplain to the band of Canadian boatmen, whom Lord Wolseley had summoned to assist in the passage of the Nile cataracts. A short account of the expedition is given, with letters from Père Bouchard, written *en route*, describing some of the incidents of the journey. The majority of the Canadians, with their chaplain, went no further than Sorkomonto, whence they returned to Cairo. They had had enough of the difficulties of the Nile cataracts, and as their engagement had been only for six months, which had now expired, they had no scruple about allowing Lord Wolseley and his force to accomplish the rest of the journey without their assistance. The ill-success of the expedition was no surprise to Père Bouchard. He had condemned it from the first, insisting that the only practicable route into the Soudan was from Suakim, and that it would be necessary to construct a railway across the Nubian desert. As it turned out, the supposed insuperable obstacles of the Nile were surmounted, but too late to save Gordon and Khartoum. When the news of the retreat reached Cairo, there was much talk of renewing the campaign in the autumn, and Père Bouchard relates in a letter to his friends in Canada that he was asked if he would join another expedition against the Soudan, should the British government decide to repeat the experiment.

"Certainly not, I replied, unless a railway is constructed ; for I am sure that not a single soldier would escape. Mgr. Sogaro [his bishop] does all he can to prevent them from committing this folly, but I believe they have so set their hearts upon it that they will take the chances."

But the advice of the missionaries, or perhaps reasons of state prevailed, and the expedition was not repeated. In the reconquest of the Soudan for Egypt, which is now gradually being accomplished, we see that Père Bouchard's idea of a railway across the desert has been adopted. Père Bouchard returned to his native country, but after a few years as a humble parish priest his health began to fail and he was sent to Trinidad. Once more he re-visited Canada, but was compelled to seek the warm climate of Trinidad again, where

he died in 1896. His letters show him to have been a simple and earnest man, with a vein of gaiety and a kindness of disposition that made him a favourite among all his associates, whether they were negro converts of the Soudan, his French-Canadian *voyageurs*, or the English officers of the relieving force. The little book is very well written, as might be expected of any work from the pen of so experienced a writer as Mgr. Têtu. It is pleasant to read the warm commendations of General Gordon, both by the author and by Père Bouchard in his letters. They both recognize his sincere and practical Christianity, and in spite of his Protestantism, speak of him as one who might be a pattern even to Catholics.

The *Reminiscences of Student Life and Practice* by the late Dr. E. D. Worthington (Sherbrooke, Que.) are well written and interesting. Dr. Worthington was widely known as a physician in the province of Quebec for nearly half a century, and saw surprising changes in medical practice during that time. Irish by birth, he was brought an infant to Canada in 1822. In 1837 he served as a volunteer during the Lower Canadian rebellion. Subsequently he studied medicine in the city of Quebec. There was no medical school. The prominent physicians would each take in hand from one to four students. The dissecting-room was under the physician's own roof, and sometimes the ladies of the house would bring their work to this chamber and spend a pleasant afternoon watching the operators. Body-snatching was the usual way of securing subjects, and Dr. Worthington has some grim tales to tell in this connection. The student was usually given the work of extracting teeth and the fee was his perquisite. Bleeding was a universal remedy. It was the fashion to be bled each spring, and some people took the extra precaution of being bled twice a year. When Lord Durham came out in 1838 he had in his train a mesmerist, and successful surgical operations were performed on mesmerized patients. Dr. Worthington studied later at Edinburgh and, on returning to Canada, performed in 1847 the first capital operation in this country effected with the aid of ether. He settled at Sherbrooke, Quebec, and died, greatly respected, in 1895.

(2) The Province of Ontario

The neatly printed pamphlet *Diary of a journey through Upper Canada and some of the New England States, 1819*, by James Goldie (Toronto, Tyrrell), is the narrative of a Scottish botanist, who subsequently settled in Canada, and died at Ayr, Ontario, in 1886, at the ripe age of 94. Mr. Goldie went through Canada principally on foot, taking botanical notes. What he saw as he approached York (Toronto) on June 25th, 1819, makes curious reading now :

"I met a number of Indians and squaws. One of the men was very drunk. He told me that he was crazy with taking too much bitters this morning. One of them had no clothing upon him except a piece of cloth about a foot in length and breadth which hung before him" (p. 14).

In York there was but one church, and Mr. Goldie watched with interest the repairs that were being made in the only street of the capital.

"I saw them mending it, which was accomplished by first turning it completely up with a plough as if to sow grain, and afterwards throwing the earth from the sides and heights upon the middle and into the hollows" (p. 18).

The air was still full of warlike alarms, echoes of the recently ended war of 1812-15. The political troubles, in which Gourlay was the central figure, were active, and Mr. Goldie notes the current gossip that the Duke of Richmond had come to Canada merely to make money, and that Sir Peregrine Maitland was appointed Governor of Upper Canada because he had made a runaway match with the Duke's daughter.

Mr. Ross Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto* is "a collection of historical sketches of the old town of York from 1792 until 1833 and of Toronto from 1834 to 1895," republished from the Toronto "Evening Telegram." Early Toronto, or York, was from the first the official residence of the lieutenant-governor, always a military man or civilian of high rank. The tone of society was English ; officials were appointed and sent from England. The parliament and law courts sat in Toronto, and in its neighbourhood half-pay officers and loyalists had settled upon farms easy of access to the town. The increase in population was slow for many years and the strong caste of officials and

clergy dominated in the little place. The local history in these volumes forms an immense mass of detail. Every effort has apparently been made to secure accuracy, and that it has borne the criticism of the readers of a daily newspaper is good evidence in its behalf. It is unfortunate, however, that the exigencies of the original publication required it to be issued in chapters, long or short, which are in no way connected. Fairly good indexes tend to make some amends for this.

The City of London, Ontario, Canada: The Pioneer Period and the London of To-day (London, Ont.: The London Printing and Lithographing Company) has a few pages summarizing the pioneer period, and the rest is a description of the present industries of the town, with anecdotal biography of prominent citizens. The illustrations are of the usual type in commercial publications of this character.

The *Historical Sketch of the Township of Hamilton* in the County of Northumberland, Ontario, compiled by Mr. Walter Riddell, (Cobourg, Ont., 1897), is issued in response to a request of the Provincial Historical Association of Ontario to the various municipalities to collect and publish their local annals. Mr. Riddell is not a native of Canada, but he has long been settled in the neighbourhood of Cobourg, and has collected a large amount of valuable historical material. His pamphlet is not very extensive, but it is a solid piece of work, and the future historian of the old Newcastle District will turn to it for information. The first survey of what is now a prosperous and well settled district was made in 1791, and the beginnings of Cobourg, the delightful residential town of to-day, were made in 1798. One of the earliest railways in Canada—that from Cobourg to Peterborough—was built in 1854, before the Grand Trunk passed along the front of the township to Toronto. The evolution of an agricultural community can be traced from the settlement of the first farmer a hundred years ago to the introduction of improved machinery. Statistics of population and production are added. Mr. Riddell's work is well worthy of imitation by others.

The reports of Mr. David Boyle, the indefatigable archaeologist of the province of Ontario, appear with the regularity of the sun. In the *Archaeological Report, 1896-7*, he devotes a large portion of his space to the question of mounds in Ontario, and presents a strong case on their behalf. Whether, however, the earthworks he has explored can be considered as more than temporary fortifications, or whether they are the degenerate remains of mounds on a larger scale, remains yet to be decided by wider investigation. As usual the portion of the report devoted to the description of the additions to the museum is full of interest, and the illustrations are worthy of the text. Mr. Hunter continues the bibliography commenced by Mr. A. F. Chamberlain some years ago, and has picked up some very curious items. The report as a whole is creditable to the government of the province.

Few ministers in Canada were more widely known or more genuinely loved than the late Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, who, for more than a quarter of a century, was pastor of St. Andrew's church, Toronto. That his biography should be written was natural and fitting, and that the writing of it should be under the editorial supervision of one of the elders of his church, Professor J. F. McCurdy, of University College, was a fortunate circumstance for both the dead and the living. *The Life and Work of D. J. Macdonnell* (Toronto, Briggs) is a most interesting piece of Canadian biography. The book contains also a small collection of sermons and prayers. The biographical work is done largely by Mr. Macdonnell's sister, who contributes the chapters dealing with his life up to the time of his settlement in Toronto. Fragments and impressions are contributed by other hands which add to the interest of the book, but somewhat mar its unity. To many people outside Mr. Macdonnell's own communion the chief interest in the book will centre about the chapter which describes "The Ecclesiastical Trial." The occasion of the sermon-reference to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment and the preacher's expression of doubt regarding the traditional view are set forth together with the circumstances which led to ecclesiastical action. The different stages of the two years' trial are

recorded, and the incidents of the debates in the General Assemblies of 1876 and 1877 are related with considerable vividness. The book reviews much of the service rendered by Mr. Macdonnell during his ministry, and glimpses are given into the secret places of his life. His biographer is evidently a hero-worshipper, but he had a worthy hero, and his work as editor and biographer is well done. It may be that a more permanently valuable book might have been produced had a different plan been adopted. Such as it is it deserves a place on the shelf devoted to Canadian biography.

The *Reminiscences of Charles Durand*, (Toronto, Hunter, Rose Co.) are by a gentleman born in 1811, who was imprisoned in connection with the troubles of 1837, and is still living. The work has little historical value.

(4) Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-West.

The Western Avernus, or Toil and Travel in Further North America. By Morley Roberts. New edition, illustrated by A. D. McCormick and from photographs. Westminister, Archibald Constable and Co. 1896. Pp. 277.

As Avernus is the lower regions and the lower regions are hell Mr. Roberts describes what he looks upon as a western hell. The country which he has mainly in view is British Columbia. The inhabitants of that province are understood to object to the designation of their land as "The Sea of Mountains." What will they say to "The Western Avernus"? Ill-health, and probably, though he does not say so explicitly, poverty led Mr. Roberts to seek his fortune in western America. If he did not find it there at once, he began to do so, for the story of his experiences which he told upon his return to England helped to make his literary reputation, which is now well established in a minor way. "The Western Avernus" appeared ten years ago, about the time the Canadian Pacific railway was nearing completion. A new edition has now come out, and so rapid are social movements in the west that it describes conditions in some degree already passed away.

Mr. Roberts in 1884 first went to Texas and became a cowboy. He donned the broad-brimmed hat and, probably from want of money to buy another, wore it on his journey westward. This caused him to be known usually as "Texas." He drifted to Iowa; then, attracted by advertisements for labourers upon the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, he made his way to British territory. Winnipeg, an "entirely execrable, flourishing and detestable business town, flat, ugly and new," he passed through. His face was set, and his longings were, for the mountains of the far west. He worked as a labourer upon the railway then being built through Kicking Horse Pass, and seems, notwithstanding very hard work, and rough lodging and companionship, to have enjoyed himself and improved in health. Tiring of this life he started out with a German acquaintance, followed the trail across the Selkirks, and worked as a farm

labourer at Kamloops; then, when work became scarce, he pressed still westward through the Fraser Cañon, to Yale and on to New Westminster. Here he stayed some months, working twelve hours a day in a saw-mill, and gained the enviable reputation of a "rustler," which is, being interpreted, an energetic worker. He turned back to the interior for a time, but finally went to Victoria, then passed through Washington and Oregon States to San Francisco, whence he journeyed back to England.

Mr. Roberts' experiences certainly did not bring him into contact with the best society. His descriptions are true of only one and that the lowest class in the places he visited. When he speaks of two-thirds of the population of a town being drunk, he is projecting his immediate environment over an entire town. Even allowing for this, perhaps excusable, exaggeration, the scenes which he describes in the mountain camps and villages of British Columbia are not unworthy of a veritable Avernus. The population is composed of Swedes, Germans, Italians, French, Portuguese, Mexicans, Japanese, Chinamen, Americans, Canadians, Indians. Nearly all are given to drink. "Oregon Jack" is a type frequently met with:

"Oregon Jack had been in British Columbia more than twenty years, and had never been sober since he entered the country. It is not known how many years he had been drunk in Oregon, but testimony from all sides averred that his intoxication had been constant on the north side of the 49th parallel" (p. 135).

Mr. Roberts declares himself a prohibitionist. One should suppose that his convictions were fortified by his American experiences.

It was only man, however, who was vile. The mountain scenery fascinated him and the book contains some striking photographic illustrations. He notes the abounding life in the waters. On the Thompson river

"standing on the bows, and looking down into the clear transparent waters, I could see hundreds of large fish, from ten to thirty pounds, dashing about in every direction. There were fairly tens of thousands of them" (p. 122).

The Indian he pictures in a degraded condition. The Chinamen's presence in the country he resented, and he had more than one personal encounter with them. On one occasion he saw Rogers the surveyor, who spent seven years in finding

and surveying a route for the railway through Kicking Horse Pass and the Selkirks. Some day the story of Rogers' remarkable and perilous work will be told perhaps as it ought to be. Mr. Roberts testifies to the good order preserved in British Columbia, and rather wondered, indeed, after having been in Texas, that a community should become excited over a mere murder. While his book is hardly likely to be used as a colonization pamphlet, it depicts truthfully some aspects of rougher life in British Columbia.

The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba has issued two short studies during the year 1897. Professor Bryce's *The Lake of the Woods* is an account of the history and resources of that district. The historical sketch is slight, but Indian massacre, the inevitable accompaniment of pioneer work, of course appears. The Rev. R. G. McBeth's *Farm Life in the Selkirk Colony* describes conditions rapidly passing away. He explains and defends the practice adopted on the Red River as on the St. Lawrence of allotting long and narrow farms, each with a frontage upon the river. The inconvenience of a farm like a lane two miles long is obvious, but on the other hand there were advantages. Water was more easily obtained; fish were abundant, and each settler had thus a supply of food in front of his own house; social life had less isolation at a time when defence from savages must be thought of; and school and church facilities were more readily secured by throwing the houses together. Farming was the principal occupation of the small number of early settlers, but it was hampered by the want of an accessible market. On the prairie hay grew abundantly, and on a fixed day in July in each year the settlers gathered to begin their cutting simultaneously so as to give all a fair chance. In these days when the buffalo has disappeared one reads sadly that the raising of horses for buffalo hunters was formerly a thriving industry. The typography of the publications of this society in 1897 shows a marked and needed improvement on the issues of previous years.

The Reverend R. G. McBeth's description of *The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life* (Toronto, Briggs) makes a fascinating little volume, telling a tale that redounds to the honour of the Scottish race. At the beginning of this century the Earl of Selkirk was the controlling spirit of the Hudson Bay Company. He was a man of benevolent impulses. At that time evictions were common in the Highlands of Scotland, the cottages of the unfortunate tenantry being destroyed by the landlord, in some cases, in order to make a park. At the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1814, a colony of settlers was sent out by Lord Selkirk to the Red river (near the modern Winnipeg). They landed on the bleak shores of Hudson Bay, and, after untold hardships, reached the Red river. In the following summer the North-west Company, the bitter rival of the Hudson Bay Company, dispersed the settlement. At the same time a reinforcement to the colony set out from Scotland. They followed in the tracks of their predecessors and arrived to find war going on between the two fur companies. This culminated in a fight at Seven Oaks, in which many were killed. It was not until 1826 that the emigrants were settled permanently, and meanwhile they had suffered hardships which our author thinks only Scotchmen could have endured. When settled the community was very isolated, and for fifty years remained so. Mr. McBeth describes the primitive manners of the colony. They were god-fearing people and very strict sabbatarians. On one occasion a party had gone out on a winter buffalo-hunt. They were unsuccessful and were starving. On a Sunday morning a herd of buffalo was seen. The hunters held a prayer-meeting to determine the momentous question whether in their condition it was right to attack the buffaloes on the Sabbath. Finally one of their number was deputed to kill but one buffalo, that there might be no more than necessary work of this kind. Mr. McBeth's sketch gives a pleasing impression of the sterling worth and industry of these hardy settlers whose descendants are now, in many cases, prominent in the province of Manitoba.

Manitoba Memories, Leaves from Life in the Prairie Province, 1868-1884 (Toronto, Briggs), is written by the pioneer

Methodist missionary, the Reverend George Young, in the Canadian North-west. It is less than thirty years since he went to the North-west and yet this book reads now like ancient history. To reach Winnipeg from the nearest railway station in the United States Mr. Young travelled in a waggon for more than a month. Ecclesiastical opinion in Winnipeg was not favourable to the novelty of a Methodist missionary. The most interesting portion of the book deals with the troubles of 1869-70. When the Hudson Bay company agreed to retire and hand over their sovereignty to the new Canadian Confederation, the half-breed settlers, secure in their isolation, opposed the transfer, seized Fort Garry and under the leadership of Riel established a tyrannical rule which lasted for ten months. Had it not been for the complete isolation of the country this attempt would have been ridiculous. As it was Colonel (now Field-Marshal Lord) Wolseley had to go through a wilderness of rock and forest from Lake Superior to Winnipeg with his relieving force of nearly fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile Riel carried things with a high hand. One prisoner, Scott, was handed over to military execution by the so-called government and the others were brutally treated. Mr. Young was with Scott up to the time of his execution and obviously believes the story that he was placed in his coffin while still alive and was left for five hours lying thus with the thermometer far below zero, finally to be shot by Riel himself. The incident caused great excitement in Canada, and the Canadian government was embarrassed by the racial sympathy between the French in Quebec and the rebels in Manitoba. Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Garry in a pelting rain to find that Riel had fled a few hours earlier. Mr. Young's book is largely concerned with his missionary interests and the style is not attractive.

Twenty years on the Saskatchewan, N. W. Canada, by the Rev. William Newton (London, Elliot Stock), is the work of an Anglican missionary, transferred in 1875 from Muskoka, Ontario, to the North Saskatchewan near Edmonton. His journey to the west occupied five weary months; the same distance is now covered by rail in less than five days. He arrived at a time when

the Hudson Bay Company was being changed from a company of fur-traders to a company of general merchants, and when the first results of the new conditions of affairs under new rulers were becoming evident. He now tells the story of the progress of civilization westward until it reached and passed his own remote post. Naturally, the professional work in which he was engaged forms the main theme of his narrative, but incidentally many interesting descriptions are given of the rapid changes in the manners and customs of the inhabitants, white and red alike. One cannot but be struck by the simplicity and reality of the account. But when the reverend canon wanders in the intricate mazes of Japanese and Siberian philology and Russian politics he is not so trustworthy a guide as he is on the Saskatchewan.

The Year Book of British Columbia, for 1897, edited by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, is big but well arranged. It contains an interesting sketch of the causes which brought British Columbia into the Canadian confederation. After the Cariboo gold fever of 1862 there was a reaction and the country was left with a white population of little more than ten thousand and a large debt. Its isolation was felt keenly and the considerable American portion of the population began to urge annexation to the United States. The alternative was to join the newly formed Dominion of Canada which seemed much more remote than the adjoining American territory. It was national sentiment, a tremendous political force, which gave Canada the initial advantage. The province wanted many things, a trans-continental railway, relief from debt, great public works, freedom from an irksome officialdom. All these it secured by joining Canada. The Year-book includes an account of the Yukon gold fields, and has numerous illustrations and much statistical information.

At the Foot of the Rockies is an account in Scribner's Magazine for September of the impressions gathered by the Abbé Cartier Goodloe during three month in the North-west. He praises the discipline, untiring vigilance and consequent influence of the Mounted Police in the "careless, rough-and-tumble west." They

are not, however, so uniformly neat and soldierly in appearance as the author thinks. Many of them, he tells us, are of gentle birth, exiled by fate or personal misfortune. Some look "wistfully out of young eyes at the puffing little train," and the only clue to the identity of others is the arrival once in six months of a heavily crested letter—"not the kind of crest one can have made at Tiffany's." The second topic is ranch-life. The social atmosphere is decidedly English. "You feel in some mysterious, delightful way that you are in England, without having crossed the Atlantic." There is a racy description of life in the "shacks," as the houses of the ranchers are denominated, whether humble shanties or handsomely furnished residences with full length mirrors and grand pianos. The Englishman brings his sports with him and in our remote west are race-meets and their "events" and "purses," and polo-matches with their attendant dances, at which dress-suits and immaculate shirt-fronts appear, and girls bloom forth in low-necked gowns and satin slippers. Nor is the obverse of the picture neglected, and the weariness, the homesickness, the many discouragements which attend the young rancher should be thoughtfully considered by prospective investors. The delights of camping among the Kootenay lakes—"a sort of happy Lotus land,"—conclude the article. It is well written, entertaining and instructive, and conveys a by no means inadequate idea of life in southern Alberta.

By Ocean, Prairie and Peak (London : S. P. C. K.) is a collection of notes and jottings "on journeys to British Columbia, Manitoba, and east Canada," with no literary or any other merit. As a diary it is stupid and it is a most inferior guide-book.

Professor C. Hill-Tout, of Buckland College, Vancouver, sent to the Royal Society in 1897 some *Notes on the Cosmogony and History of the Squamish Indians of British Columbia*. His information was derived from the historian of the tribe, a man about a hundred years old, and it was given, not in the course of ordinary conversation, but, so to say, officially, in a solemn assembly of the tribe, and in terms obviously committed to

memory long ago. The legends of the creation and of the flood are like those current in other tribes and have points of resemblance to the Mosaic narrative. Professor Hill-Tout gives some striking evidences of similarity between languages of the Pacific coast and Chinese. He points out that the great difficulty in such inquiries is our lack of analytical knowledge of the native languages of the coast. When we have an approach to a scientific philology of their tongues we shall perhaps see a brilliant discovery similar to that which tied together Greek and Sanskrit.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country; the Canadian Dominion considered in its Historic Relations, its Natural Resources, its Material Progress, and its National Development. By a corps of eminent writers and specialists, edited by J. Castell Hopkins. In five volumes. Illustrated. Toronto: The Linscott Publishing Company. 1898. Vol. I. Pp. 540.

To compare this ambitious work with the standard encyclopaedias would be unfair, perhaps, since it is avowedly constructed on a plan essentially different, and is limited strictly to subjects connected with the history, the politics, the commerce and the other national interests of Canada. This is at once an advantage and a disadvantage. For example, alphabetical arrangement not being followed, the grouping of subjects is made to depend upon what appears to be a purely arbitrary plan, for the justification of which we must see the whole five volumes before offering a criticism. On the other hand, there is a certain chronological sequence of the contents which is both convenient and readily understood. The historical portion of the first volume consists of twelve articles by writers who are for the most part authorities on the subjects they deal with. After each article the editor has placed a number of notes, embodying details not given, or only mentioned briefly, by the writer. Where these notes consist of extracts from official records or documents they form an extremely valuable feature of the work, especially useful to many who have hitherto been forced to spend hours in the libraries searching vainly for historical or political data scattered over many volumes. The authorities, however, from which quotations are made should invariably be cited, with page and date of the edition used. The historical articles in this volume cover Canadian history from the first discovery to the war of 1812, and the names of the writers inspire sufficient confidence to entitle them to a respectful hearing where controversial or disputed points are touched upon. The other sections of the volume deal with the Indians, with

the trade and tariffs of Canada, and with the history of banking and the banking system. The articles upon Indian subjects are by no means exhaustive, and apart from the notes, which are varied and useful, the treatment of the subject is not quite adequate. The commerce and finance of Canada fill so great a space in our annals and enter so largely into the life and interests of the people that the editor is justified in devoting much attention to them. His two papers in this division of the work, one upon the tariff policy of Canada, the other dealing with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 are accompanied by numerous extracts from official reports and public speeches, and form a valuable compendium of information upon the tariff question. Canadian trade relations with the United States are sympathetically discussed by Mr. J. Charlton, M.P., whose article, supplemented by many citations from the political literature of the last forty years, presents a useful record of the Commercial Union campaign. "The Pioneers of Trade in Canada" is the title of an interesting article by Mr. Stapleton Caldecott, which might have been longer without exhausting the subject. The short biographical notices of more than forty pioneers in Canadian commerce constitute a commendable feature of the encyclopædia. The section devoted to Canadian banking contains a good deal of valuable information, such as the histories of the principal banking institutions. More attention might have been given to the consecutive narrative of the development and changes in the currency systems of the provinces. Mention must be made of an article upon the place-names of Canada by Mr. George Johnson, which embodies many interesting details concerning the origin of the names most familiar to students of Canadian geography.

As this is the pioneer encyclopædia of Canada some allowance must be made for the inherent difficulties of a task requiring great courage and enterprise. The industry of the editor, Mr. Castell Hopkins, is entitled to recognition. He has undertaken an elaborate work, which when completed will give, in convenient form, a vast collection of information concerning Canada.

There are numerous typographical errors and other evidences of haste. While avoiding captious criticism it should be said that

it is well worth while to avoid in future volumes some of the present defects. The contributions of the editor Mr. Hopkins are written in a clear and vigorous style, but he makes a good many mistakes, due largely to rapidity of production.

Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel (New Issue); North America, Vol. I., Canada and Newfoundland. By Samuel Edward Dawson. Maps and Illustrations. London: Edward Stanford. 1897. Pp. 719.

This volume of more than 700 pages is interesting and timely, and has been brought so well up to date that even the Klondyke placers are included in its scope. Canada is a large subject and it is not to be expected that a review of its history, geography and resources could be at all exhaustive in a volume of the size; nevertheless it is a very fresh and readable compendium. The arrangement is good. A hundred pages are devoted to a general characterization of the Dominion of Canada; this is followed by more detailed accounts of the provinces, proceeding from east to west. The territories are then taken up returning from west to east. The last chapter is occupied with the only British province still outside of the Dominion, Newfoundland. The maps are not always as well up to date as is the letterpress. The map containing western Ontario shows the name "Thousand Lakes and Isds" for the "Lac des Mille Lacs," which is in regular use; the French "Les Dalles" is used for the falls of Winnipeg River at Rat Portage, but the term is not heard at that lively mining and lumbering town except in the mouths of the few French-Canadian raftsmen.

As one expects from Mr. Dawson, the older bits of history of the different parts of the country are pretty fully dealt with for the amount of space available. Thirty pages of the history of Acadia, beginning with a sketch of the Norse expeditions, seem perhaps a little disproportionate, though they are interesting reading for those unfamiliar with the subject; and the discussion of the mythic channel across the continent in the historical sketch of British Columbia, while amusing, does not add much to one's

knowledge of the province. In general, however, the work is done with due regard to proportion. The strong patriotic feeling of the writer shows itself in many places and a certain bias in favour of things Canadian is to be pardoned after the disparagement Canada has endured in past years.

The general sketch which follows the introduction brings together concisely the chief points of Canada's geography and geology ; its magnificent lakes and rivers ; its climate, fauna and population ; its political divisions, means of communication, trade and commerce. Stress is laid on the temperate character of the different climates, for Canada has more than one ; our vineyards and fields of Indian corn are depicted in the illustrations instead of our winter scenes.

To many readers the chapters devoted to the immense and magnificent province of British Columbia, with its grand mountain ranges and erratic but impetuous rivers ; to the little known Mackenzie and Yukon regions, and to Arctic Canada with its wilderness of barren grounds, will prove freshest and most instructive.

The work is of necessity mainly a compilation, but the array of facts has been marshalled judiciously. At the end of each chapter a list of the authorities referred to is given, enabling students who wish to go more thoroughly into the subject to do so without difficulty. In a book covering so vast a range there are inevitably some slips. In speaking of the " Threshold of the New World," the elevation of the ocean bed along the whole North American coast is attributed to the secular waste of the continent ; but most geologists hold this submarine plain to be really part of the continent, once above water and now submerged. A few of the elevations given are incorrect. The shore of Lake Ontario is said to be low, rising only from 50 to 150 feet ; yet at Scarboro' Heights it rises to 350 feet. The old blunder regarding the height of Mount Brown on the Athabasca Pass is perpetuated, its elevation being given at 16,000 feet instead of 9,000, though the account of its ascent, giving its real height, was published two years ago in the Geographical Journal. The name Wapta is given to the Kicking Horse River, following

the bad usage of the Canadian Pacific Railway authorities, who have been misled into calling this rather minor stream "The River." Wapta in the Mountain Stony tongue means simply a river or creek, and is not a proper name. Stony Indians use the word for any considerable stream.

The defects in the book are, however, of a minor character, and the book as a whole admirably fills its purpose of giving a general sketch of the Dominion and Newfoundland. Canadians should read it to get a glimpse of their own country, and having read it they can hardly fail to be proud of their ownership of so fair a land, full of promise for the future. The book is intended apparently for use in Great Britain, where it is to be hoped it will have a wide circulation and give a clearer view of Canada than is usually found there.

A. P. COLEMAN.

Handbook of Canada: Published by the Publication Committee of the Local Executive of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; with several maps, charts and diagrams. Toronto: Rowse & Hutchison; 1897. Pp. viii-415.

Influenced on one side by all the conditions peculiar to a new country, and on the other by the proximity of a people of similar race but economically much further advanced, Canadian history presents at once illustrations of remarkable activity and success, and at times in various quarters no less remarkable symptoms of indecision and discouragement. That the latter attitude has been largely due to the high standard of national progress which this proximity has led the Canadian people more or less unconsciously to adopt, will not be seriously questioned. One might, however, have expected that natural curiosity would for this very reason lead to careful scrutiny of the natural and the economic conditions of the country. Such an expectation can hardly be said to have been realized. The almost dramatic character of some periods of Canadian history has tempted many writers to treat of these interesting aspects of the national career, to the exclusion of other topics. These writers usually avoid questions of

an economic nature. The more welcome therefore is the appearance of a work giving detailed and trustworthy information on many matters hitherto very imperfectly treated of, in which, nevertheless, we are all interested.*

The *Handbook of Canada* seeks, in the words of the preface, "to give for the use of scientific visitors to Canada a compact and systematic account of those features of the Dominion in which they might be presumed to have a special interest." The book is divided into three parts, treating respectively of the geography, geology and biology of Canada; the history and administration; the economic resources, trade and population. In all, thirty-five contributions of varying lengths are offered from the pens of thirty able writers, specialists in the subjects of which they treat.

A valuable article on the physical geography and geology of Canada is contributed by Dr. Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, while the diversified climate is ably treated of by Mr. R. F. Stupart, Director of the Canadian Meteorological Service, Toronto. Canada, it is claimed, is a country of clear skies. According to Campbell-Stokes recorders,

"there are few, if any, places in England that have a larger normal annual percentage than 36, and there are many as low as 25, whereas in Canada most stations exceed 40 and some few have as high a percentage as 46. In England at but few places does the normal of any summer month exceed 45 per cent; . . . it is only the southern parts of Europe that have more sunshine in the summer months than Canada."

Suggestive sketches of the zoology and of the flora of Canada are presented by Professor Ramsay Wright, and Professor John Macoun, Botanist of the Geological Survey, Ottawa.

In Part II. Dr. A. F. Chamberlain, of Clark University, in writing on the ethnology of the aborigines, seems to suggest a doubt whether of recent years the Indians of Canada have really decreased numerically. Mr. Benjamin Sulte, in a note on the settlement of New France, discusses very briefly the birth-places

* It may be well to mention here three other publications besides the one under review, offering similar information regarding Canada: *Handbook for the Dominion of Canada*, issued on occasion of the British Association meeting in Montreal, (Montreal, 1884); *Canadian Handbook*, issued on occasion of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London, (Ottawa, 1886); *Baedeker, The Dominion of Canada*, etc., with introductory articles by Dr. Dawson, Dr. Bourinot, etc. (Leipzig, 1894.)

of the first French settlers in Canada, and Professor Mavor gives a note on the ethnical affinities of the present inhabitants of the Dominion. According to Mr. Sulte, the French-Canadian population has doubled on the average every thirty years. More exact calculation, however, would seem to indicate that this increase takes place every twenty-eight years, possibly, indeed, in an even shorter period. The French Canadians thus prove themselves the most prolific of all civilized peoples. Professor Wrong, towards the close of a lucid sketch of the history of Canada, states clearly what must now be accepted as fact, that

"the political connection of Canada with Great Britain has had one striking result. People from other European countries have preferred to emigrate to the United States rather than to become the subjects of a rival European State, by settling in Canada."

The Canadian system of government, and the English Privy Council are ably treated of by Dr. Bourinot and Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy. The administrative departments of the Dominion and of the provinces—public lands, financial relations, education, etc., form the subject of two chapters by different writers whose articles have been generally too restricted in length to be very satisfactory. The interesting chapter on municipal institutions in Canada, by Mr. C. R. W. Biggar, will bear further development, especially as regards the financial position of the municipalities.

In Part III., Professor Coleman, writing on the mining industries of Canada, would explain the conservative Canadian farmer's very obvious disinclination to take up new lands in the west, or to venture into mining, from the conditions of the first settlement of this country. To use Dr. Coleman's own words :

"since the two most populous provinces, Ontario and Quebec, including more than two-thirds of the whole number of inhabitants, were established mainly as farming communities in the fertile paleozoic border of the great archean shield, where no deposits of ore or coal can be looked for, the bulk of the population have grown up with no knowledge of mines and with the thrifty virtues of farmers and merchants averse to risking their savings in an untried and hazardous occupation."

This is in striking contrast with the conditions of settlement in the United States, which shows a progress from the poorer soils of the east to the more fertile lands of the west. But it

must not be forgotten that there are at work peculiarly strong influences, especially on the younger generation of Canadians, due to the presence a few miles south of seemingly "ready-made openings."

In connection with the subject of the settlement of Canada, it may be well to note that neither in Canada nor in the United States has anyone attempted as yet to estimate at all exactly the extent of lands fit for cultivation. In Canada we have our barren lands and subarctic areas; in the United States they have their arid and their alkali lands. Referring to the Canadian Northwest, Professor Macoun writes (pp. 99-100):

"It might be as well to remark here that accurate meteorological data have shown that Edmonton, in northern Alberta, in latitude 53° 30', has almost the winter climate of Ottawa, in latitude 45° 25'.

"It is then no fiction to state, as I did in 1872, that the climate of the wooded portion of the North-west is very much like that of northern Ontario. As time passes and this forest belt gets broken up and drained, it will be found to be subject to less extremes of cold, heat and drought than the prairie to the south, and the term "fertile belt" will be again applied to the banks of the Saskatchewan, as it was in former years. . . . The Peace River vegetation differs very little from that of Quebec and the northern prairies, and as far north as latitude 61° these species predominate and apparently all the country needs is drainage to give it a climate suitable for all kinds of crops."

In the appendix is also found an instructive map relating to this question, and giving approximately the limits of the areas of cultivation respectively of wheat, barley and potatoes.

The strong remarks of Professor Macoun and of Mr. A. H. Campbell, jr., on the forests of Canada deserve especial attention.

"There are few questions of more vital importance to Canada," says Mr. Campbell, "than the future possibilities of the forests, but reliable information on the subject is almost unattainable. The consenus of opinion is, however, that under present conditions, as far as the white pine—the most important wood of the country—is concerned, the end is within measurable distance, the destruction of it being enormous, while its growth to maturity is exceedingly slow. The spruce of the Maritime Provinces should last for a long time; and the extensive forests of British Columbia are almost untouched; but, with these exceptions, it will not be long before Canada ceases to be a wood-exporting country, unless some proper system of forestry is introduced."

Want of space, alone, prevents reference to the able articles on the fur-trade, the fisheries, the chemical industries, etc., and to the brief but suggestive sketch by Professor Mavor of the exploitation of these resources.

Throughout the book the articles are dignified and hopeful, but not optimistic, in tone. As already indicated, some of them have been too limited in space to be altogether fair to their subjects, or quite satisfactory to the reader. In some cases the omission of authorities is likewise to be regretted. Nevertheless the book is well suited to the purpose for which it was intended; and it will probably mark a new era in the study of Canadian conditions. The volume is bound in cloth and is well printed; a new political map of the Dominion is inserted at the beginning. Professor Mavor and Professor Ramsay Wright, both of the University of Toronto, are the editors.

S. M. WICKETT.

The Statistical Year Book of Canada for 1896. Twelfth year of issue. Issued by the Department of Agriculture. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1897. Pp. 477.

Of late years statistical publications and reviews have received throughout America considerable attention. In this age of administrative upbuilding such works are of prime importance. In the American union almost all the States have a separate statistical bureau, while Washington, besides a National Department of Labour, has the well known Bureau of Statistics in connection with the Treasury and with the State Department. Great progress is being made likewise in the organization of municipal statistics. In Canada statistical work usually takes the form of departmental blue-books and reports; though at Ottawa, under the Department of Agriculture, we find a "Statistics Division," generally termed "Bureau of Statistics." Towards popularizing government returns the agricultural bulletins and reports of Ontario and of Manitoba, and the Ontario Statistics of Labour have done much; and the recent organization of a statistical bureau in Victoria is promising. Some of the provinces, however, show a singular lack of appreciation of statistical information. For instance, to rely upon a statement on page 428 of the present publication, Nova Scotia "has no registry of births and deaths," and on page 70 we are informed that the provinces other than Ontario and Manitoba, "do not supply crop returns sufficiently

full for publication"! These two statements, it seems, must be taken as more or less typical of statistical work in many parts of the Dominion. One of the main causes of this negligence appears to be a financial one, in that some of the provinces have objected to bearing the expense of supporting statistical work in which they as local units can have in their view but little direct interest. Of municipal statistics generally, we need only state that they leave much to be desired, not alone as regards promptness in preparation, but in many districts in respect of completeness and reliability. In speediness of publication the larger towns are less open to criticism than the other municipalities, but Toronto takes three months to prepare its annual statement; while the municipal returns for the province are in Ontario not finally completed for nearly two years. The present Year-Book is in this respect no exception, for it appeared eight months or more after 1896 had come to an end. To provide for the prompt publication of satisfactory statistics there is needed an organization of the different statistical bureaus and offices, federal, provincial and municipal, in such a way as to allow them to work more in unison.

In the present volume we should have been glad to detect a more manifest effort to popularize statistical matter. Many non-statistical data now included might have been judiciously omitted. The material could then have been more clearly systematized, and greater condensation effected, especially by means of statistical averages and percentages for quinquennial and decennial periods. In this form the information would be more readily understood and discussed. In the volume there is much that is invaluable. Entries, however, are not wanting which to the guileless might be misleading; for instance on page 381, as indicative of the growth of the different religious denominations, the increase in the number of churches is given without any reference to the value, or to the estimated seating capacity of the buildings. On page 46, again, the density of population in Canada is briefly discussed, but without any reference to the extent of unsettled areas; and we are in this light informed that, according to the census of 1891, Nova Scotia is

more than twice as densely populated as Ontario, Prince Edward almost five times as densely as New Brunswick. Although in these, as also in other respects, the Year-book is open to criticism, it must be regarded as a work of considerable and growing importance. The character of the matter of which it treats, and its place as the official medium for disseminating statistical knowledge concerning Canada, demand however a more satisfactory production, which in all probability can only be achieved by more complete organization of statistical work in Canada.

S. M. WICKETT.

Report on Explorations in the Labrador Peninsula along the East Main, Koksoak, Hamilton, Manicuagan and portions of other rivers in 1892-93-94-95. By A. P. Low. Ottawa: S. E. Dawson. 1896. Pp. 387. (Geological Survey of Canada. Part L, Annual Report, vol. viii.)

Labrador et Anticosti. Journal de Voyage—Histoire—Topographie—Pêcheurs Canadiens et Acadiens—Indiens Montagnais. Par l'abbé V. A. Huard. Montréal: C. O. Beauchemin et fils. 1897. Pp. xvi, 508. Map.

The last few years, that have witnessed the commencement of enterprise in the northern part of our western territories, have also seen a revival of interest in the north-eastern portion of British America. Exploration and adventure possess unfailing attractions for the average man, and the less of the unknown there is on the earth's surface the more eagerly will it be sought out, mapped and photographed. The members of the Geological Survey of Canada have been among the most enterprising explorers of the country. In the report before us, what is commonly known as the Labrador peninsula, lying between Hudson Bay and the Atlantic, is exhaustively mapped and described. The extreme easterly portion of British America has long been partially known. The French were active in establishing fishing-posts along the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and they also pushed into the interior towards Hudson Bay, where the English were in advance of them. The necessity of making alliances with the Indian tribes of Labrador pressed upon the French, and about the middle of the seventeenth century we hear

of several expeditions northward by the Saguenay river. In the days of Frontenac one of the important scenes of warfare between the English and the French was Hudson Bay. Ultimately the English remained in possession, and the Hudson Bay Company carried on an extensive trade with the natives of the western country. That to the east was still *terra incognita*. But after 1821, when the Hudson Bay and Northwest companies amalgamated, the Labrador peninsula was occupied and trading posts were established throughout the interior. The country is still popularly known as Labrador. In reality the greater part of the old Labrador is now divided between the Province of Quebec and Ungava Territory, only a strip along the Atlantic coast retaining the ancient name. No systematic exploration was attempted in this vast region until 1892, when Mr. Low began the series of surveys which was completed in 1895. The following paragraph from the Report is the most concise statement of the task set, of what has been done and of what remains to be done:

"The total area embraced within these boundaries [from Hudson Bay to the Atlantic, and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay] is approximately 511,000 square miles, of which, previous to the present explorations, 289,000 square miles were practically unknown. There still remain about 120,000 square miles of the northern portion of the peninsula, between Hudson and Ungava Bays, totally unknown to anyone except the wandering bands of Eskimo who occasionally penetrate inland from the coast."

The description of the interior, although couched in severely official language, without any epithets except those of quantity and extent, shows that the country is interesting and often impressive. It is an undulating plateau, well wooded and diversified by lakes and rivers. On Hamilton river is one of the grandest waterfalls in the world. The height is more than three hundred feet and the volume of water that passes over is equal to that of the Ottawa river at Ottawa. In the pages that describe this portion of the Hamilton river, the admiration of the traveller breaks through the chastened reserve of the official.

"The main branch of the Hamilton river issues from a small lake expansion . . . and begins one of the greatest and wildest descents of any river in eastern America. . . . In twelve miles the total fall is 760 feet. Such a fall would be nothing extraordinary for a small stream in a mountainous country, but is phenomenal in a great river like the Hamilton."

After leaving the lake expansion alluded to, the river has a width of about a mile, but it soon contracts and the speed of the current increases with the gradual narrowing of its channel.

"The banks and bottom of the river are wholly formed of rock, and as the stream in the next mile has cut a narrow and gradually deepening trough out of the solid rock, at the lower end of the course it flows in a narrow gorge with sloping rocky walls. . . . As it descends its width decreases from 150 to 50 yards, and it hurries along with tremendous rapids.

"The last 300 yards are down a very steep grade, where the confined waters rush in a swirling mass, thrown into enormous, long surging waves, at least twenty feet from crest to hollow, the deafening noise of which completely drowns the heavy boom of the great falls immediately below. After a final great wave, the pent-up mass of water is shot down a very steep incline of rock for 100 feet, where it breaks into a mass of foam, and plunges into a circular basin below, the momentum acquired during the first part of the fall being sufficient to carry it well out from the perpendicular wall of rock at the bottom. . . . The total fall from the crest of the incline to the basin below is 302 feet." (pp. 140, 141.)

Innumerable lakes are scattered throughout the peninsula. Though many ranges of round-topped hills are met with, the only really mountainous regions appear to be in the extreme north-east. As frosts occur all over the central portions even in July and August, agriculture is out of the question. There is little grass even. The possible wealth of the country is in its minerals. Magnetic iron is found in great quantities, and may ultimately be in demand, but to take it out of the country will be a severe task. Mr. Low does not encourage the idea that the forests will have much commercial value. The small average size of the trees, he says, over all but the southern watershed, renders them useless for lumbering purposes. Forest fires have also wrought great havoc in the interior. He estimates that this scourge of the Canadian backwoods has actually removed one-half of the forests of Labrador. The carelessness of the Indians is supposed to be the chief and perhaps the only cause. In addition to detailed descriptions of the routes taken, and a minute account of the geology of the country, the Report contains appendices on the mammals, fishes and insects, a complete list of plants of Labrador, and a meteorological record for 1893-94. It is accompanied by a most useful map, and would be an invaluable guide-book for future explorers in that region.

The southern and eastern limits of the Labrador peninsula are the only portions that have now or are likely ever to have

any great commercial importance. Here are the fisheries, and here reside almost half the total number of inhabitants. The north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is the most favoured situation for this thriving industry. The first fishing settlements on this coast were made by the French colonists two hundred years ago. Later the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company in the fur-trade interrupted the other industry for a time, for the Company, afraid of having their Indian hunters corrupted by white settlers, would allow no permanent habitation upon the coast save their own posts. But after 1850 their monopoly was abolished and fishing has since been gradually resumed.

As in the days of the first settlements, so now the principal catches are seal, herring, salmon, mackerel and cod. Many of the salmon rivers are preserved, but there are also special licenses issued for catching the fish in weirs along the coast. The Abbé Huard's book gives us much detailed information on the fishing villages and their inhabitants. It is, in fact, an itinerary of a tour that embraced every settlement along the coast from Betsiamis to Natashquan. In the summer of 1895, the Bishop of Chicoutimi was making a pastoral visitation in this portion of his extended diocese and the Abbé Huard accompanied him. The information which he now gives is in many respects absolutely exhaustive. The number of the inhabitants is recorded at each place, together with nationality, religion and occupations. While the Bishop was engaged in his spiritual duties, his companion, for whom the voyage was one of recreation alone, employed the time in conversing with the inhabitants and inquiring into their mode of life, neglecting nothing of interest that his observant eye lighted upon. It is a picture desolate enough. The shore is almost uniformly sandy and barren of vegetation. For convenience of access to nets and weirs the houses are clustered at the very edge of the land, where they are utterly unprotected from the storms of winter. There are, however many small rivers flowing into the gulf, whose mouths afford good anchorage for small craft, and these are the favourite sites for settlement.

The life of the inhabitants is as dismal as their place of habitation. They fish in summer, and shoot seals on the ice or hunt in

the forests of the interior in winter. The highest dignity to which a man can aspire is to become a lighthouse-keeper. Periodical visits from schooners to buy fish are the only events that break the monotony of daily routine. Hear the Abbé's account :

" In these fishing-villages the sea is their only distraction and preoccupation ; its various conditions, smooth or rough, the hourly changes of weather and their effect upon the fishing, whether favourable or the reverse, constitute almost the sole food for thought and conversation." (p. 98).

The average yearly income of a fisherman seems to be about \$300. In some favoured localities where there are good sealing in the winter and many kinds of fish to be caught in summer the earnings may amount to \$500 *per annum*. Although other fish are caught the cod is the great stand-by. The supply is inexhaustible and regular, and it excels all other fish as a staple food. Most of the cod-fishing, especially in the eastern part of the Gulf, is directed and controlled by great companies, whose headquarters is the island of Jersey. The author denies that the practical monopoly which they exercise is disadvantageous. Their rule is mild and benevolent.

" In bad years the 'bourgeois' [Companies] help their people, just as in good seasons they profit by their labour" (p. 148).

Where one of the companies controls a fishing-station it brings fishermen for the summer season from the Gaspé coast, providing boats and bait, and lodges the men in large buildings called "cook-rooms," of which the upper story is a huge dormitory. The wages vary according to the state of the market and the success of the haul for each boat. In these establishments are also carried on the drying and salting processes.

The author is not solely preoccupied by his ecclesiastical cares nor even by the temporal welfare of the good fisher-folk. The following passage betrays an inclination and some capacity for "la haute politique." He is speaking of Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, one of the chief settlements.

" In the course of some centuries, the great French-Canadian Republic, which is still in a chrysalis-state, will have here one of its important harbours, for trading vessels and especially for its ships of war. The fishing population of the Gulf will be the inexhaustible nursery to supply our armoured ships, our cruisers and torpedo-boats with incomparable sailors."

Apart from its frank yearnings for independence this passage is worth noting for the view it takes of the capabilities of our

fishing population in the Gulf. The idea has already been suggested that in these hardy fishermen there is excellent material for a naval reserve, not, indeed, for the French-Canadian Republic, even in a chrysalis-state, but for the British Empire.

The Indian inhabitants of Southern Labrador are of the Montagnais tribe. They hunt in winter and spend the summer months at the Hudson Bay posts along the coast where they enjoy an idle life after their fashion. Our author estimates the annual value of furs obtained in this region at \$80,000. They are chiefly the skins of bear, beaver, otter and marten.

Anticosti, to which the Abbé Huard devotes two chapters of his book, has been till recently an almost uninhabited island. The forbidding nature of its shores sufficiently explains this neglect no less than the bad name which it acquired among all who navigated the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There are but three harbours along the whole extent of its coasts, shoals and reefs surround it, and it is often veiled in fog. No wonder that ships gave it a wide berth. Even since an excellent lighthouse service has lessened the danger of shipwrecks, its evil reputation has continued. Experienced and competent observers like M. Gregory and the late M. Faucher de St. Maurice have visited the island only to condemn it. From their accounts one would suppose that no industry but fishing could succeed there. The soil, they say, is not amiss, witness the dense growth of stunted forest that covers most of the island, but cereals cannot be cultivated and cattle die of some mysterious disease. Hunting and fishing must remain the only pursuits open to colonists. The Abbé Huard gives us a different impression. The few places that he visited appeared to him a garden in comparison with the sandy barren shore of the north coast of the Gulf. The Abbé is not alone in his good opinion of the island, for it has now been purchased by a French capitalist, M. Menier, of chocolate-making fame. He first had a thorough exploration of the island carried out from one end to the other, and the report of what was discovered in the interior must have surprised many who had accepted the tradition of the sterility and poverty of Anticosti. Two-thirds of the soil is easily capable of cultivation. Every kind of vegetable

may be grown and many fruits ; barley, rye and buckwheat come to maturity, and even wheat and oats in some places. The potato thrives extraordinarily. There is also plenty of excellent grazing, and dairying might be carried on profitably. The forests are largely composed of well-grown trees suitable either for manufacture of lumber or for the wood-pulp industry. Rivers descending in falls and rapids from the high ground in the interior would supply the necessary water-power.

It is still matter of curiosity to many how the new proprietor intends to develope his estate. The probability is that he will turn it to account in many ways. He has prohibited hunting and fishing in the interior of the island, and he is also stocking it with moose and caribou, beaver and squirrels. It is obvious therefore that he counts upon making it a game preserve of unparalleled variety. Roads, wharves and churches have been constructed, a regular steamboat service to Quebec established, and every consideration is shown for the well being and comfort of the tenants or subjects of this "King of Anticosti." Whatever advantage he derives from his kingdom, it is an enterprise worthy of applause and success.

A considerable portion of the Abbé Huard's book is taken up with the condition of the settlements from an ecclesiastical point of view. The excellent missionaries who attend to the spiritual needs of the fishermen and their families are indeed devoted and faithful servants. Many charming details of their life and labours are given, but the subject is not one that calls for notice in these pages. The author has a light and pleasing style ; he is too diffuse perhaps, and given to chronicling trivial matters, but these are minor blemishes in a work that contains so much that is valuable.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, 1893 à 1897.
Quebec: Printed for the Society, 1897.

Recent Explorations to the South of Hudson Bay. By Robert Bell; *Geographical Journal*, July, 1897.

In the *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Quebec*, M. Baillargé discusses the proposals for railways to James Bay.

and urges upon the provincial government at Quebec the building of a line in continuation of that already in existence from Quebec to Lac St. Jean. Railways from Winnipeg and from North Bay are already projected, he says, and he warns the province of Quebec that it may be forestalled by its rivals and lose a share of the estimated spoils. He also points out the value and importance to Canada of the whale fisheries in Hudson Bay, which are now entirely in the hands of whalers from New England seaports. The same topic, railway communication with Hudson Bay, is the subject of other brief notices in the volume, chiefly articles reprinted from newspapers.

A paper by Mr. O'Sullivan in the same volume of *Transactions* is devoted to the natural resources and topography of the region immediately to the south of Hudson Bay. The author is Inspector of Surveys for the province of Quebec, and in 1894 he conducted an exploration of that part of the country concerning which he writes. He asserts that much of the land beyond the Ottawa slope is fertile and well suited to cultivation, and as for climate he thinks it probable that this district will compare favourably with Manitoba and the North-west. His chief reason for the latter opinion seems to be that the latitude is even lower than that of Manitoba. The isothermal lines, however, show a remarkable upward bend to the west of Hudson Bay, so that Manitoba and the Territories are really warmer than places in corresponding latitudes on the eastern side of the continent. But Mr. O'Sullivan maintains that the isothermal lines are insufficient evidence of climate, for the observations on which they were based were taken at the forts on the borders of Hudson Bay, where the vicinity of that cold body of water lowered the average temperature. In the *Geographical Journal* for July, 1897, the same view is maintained by Dr. Robert Bell, the veteran explorer of the Geological Survey of Canada, in his paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on *Recent Explorations to the South of Hudson Bay*. The distance from the Atlantic of this country (more than 1000 miles) and its general low altitude seem to him sufficient reasons for expecting it to have a normal climate for the latitude.

A third topic treated at considerable length in this volume is the Island of Anticosti. M. LeVasseur gives a historical sketch of the various opinions that have prevailed on the subject of this much maligned island, and also statistics and illustrations of its real fertility. He includes an interesting account of the "sorcerer of Anticosti," Louis Olivier Gamache, who settled early in this century on the south coast at the head of the little bay that bears his name. He hunted, fished and cultivated a small garden. Legend ascribed to him dealings with the devil; from these tales we gather that by his boldness and intrepidity, and by practising upon the superstitious fears of the fishermen and Indians, he gained complete ascendancy over them. M. LeVasseur concludes his sketch with an account of M. Menier's purchase of the island, already dealt with in this review.

Two projects for "tinkering the Earth" are the subjects of various papers and letters published in the volume, neither of which deserve to be taken very seriously. One suggestion of the kind is that the new drainage canal at Chicago will materially decrease the volume of water in the St. Lawrence river and so injuriously affect the interests of Canada. The other project is to dam the Straits of Belle-Isle, through which a cold Arctic current flows, and so effect a change in the climate of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The programme of the benefits proposed by this simple engineering work is worth stating. The east winds and fogs of Boston and all the New England coast will vanish, the maritime provinces will enjoy a mild and genial climate, the heavy snowfall and severe frosts of Labrador, Newfoundland and Quebec will cease and Canadian ports will be open all the year round.

Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605 to 1620. In two books. Book I. The Danish Expedition to Greenland in 1605, 1606 and 1607; to which is added Captain James Hall's Voyage to Greenland in 1612. Book II. The Expedition of Captain Jens Munk to Hudson's Bay in search of a North-west Passage in 1619-20. Edited with Notes and Introduction by C. C. A. Gosch. 2 vols. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1897. Pp. cxviii.-205, cxviii-187.

✓ *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada. A Journey of 3,200 miles by Canoe and Snow-shoe through the Barren Lands.* By J. W. Tyrrell, C.E., D.L.S. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897. Pp. vi.-280.

On Snow-shoes to the Barren Grounds; Twenty-eight hundred miles after Musk-oxen and Wood-bison. By Caspar W. Whitney. New York: Harper & Bros, 1896. Pp. x—324.

The same spirit which impelled Drake and Dampier to seek a westward passage to the spice islands of the far east sent Frobisher and Hudson to the north-west to struggle with the ice and cold of Hudson Bay. The success of the Spaniards and Portuguese stimulated the English to a thorough examination of the north-east shore of North America, and during the fifty-six years which elapsed between the first expedition of Frobisher in 1576 and the return of James in 1632 no less than sixteen expeditions were despatched. Of all the European nations the Danes alone attempted to follow the English. Their first expeditions were mainly directed to Greenland, partly in the hope of discovering the long-lost settlements of the Norsemen. The first volume of the Hakluyt Society publication for the past year is devoted to reprints from "Purchas, his Pilgrimes," and other collections containing the narratives of Hall, the English pilot, and others of the four voyages to Greenland in 1605-1612. The second volume is devoted to a translation of the "Navigatione Septentrionalis," under which title the account of Munk's voyage to Hudson Bay, in 1619, in search of a north-west passage, was published. There is a lengthy introduction by Mr. C. C. A. Gosch, consisting of a most exhaustive summary, a bibliography, and geographical notes.

Munk's voyage is of interest as the only attempt of the Danes to follow in the track of the English explorers westward. It was the occasion of the discovery of the Churchill river, the mouth of which forms the best harbour in Hudson Bay. Munk spent a terrible winter near the site of the present Fort Churchill, and when spring came only three out of a company of sixty-four remained alive. Glad to escape from the charnel-house, he sank his larger vessel and fled with his two surviving men in a small

boat, reaching Norway after a voyage of great peril. While adding little to our knowledge of the shores of Hudson Bay, beyond the discovery of the Churchill, he confirmed the observations of his English predecessors as to the character of the navigation in the Bay, the severity of the cold and the barrenness of its shores. The survey of the coast was carried on by English sailors little by little, until in 1747 the Hudson Bay Company completed it, by showing that Chesterfield Inlet, discovered by Smith, only extended back to a small lake, named Lake Baker. From that day until Lieut. Gordon's visit in 1886, under instructions from the Canadian government, the western shore of Hudson Bay has been unvisited, save by a few fishing craft. The traders of the Hudson Bay Company at Prince of Wales Fort on the Churchill were speedily attracted toward the rich countries of the interior and far west, where hunters and furs could be cheaply obtained. North of their trail from Fort Churchill to Norway House and east of Great Slave Lake lie the Barren Lands, more than two hundred thousand square miles in extent, a region of swamps, lakes and rock, where winter reigns for nine months of the year. A few Indians of degraded type are to be found in the interior, and still fewer Eskimo on the sea-shore. This portion of the continent for over two centuries since its discovery remained unexplored. The only white man who crossed during that time was the intrepid traveller Hearne, who in the years 1769-72 made two journeys in a north-eastern direction, on the first of which he came within measurable distance of the head of Chesterfield Inlet, and on the second reached the shores of the Arctic ocean, and the mouth of the Coppermine river. The director of the Canadian Geological Survey, Dr. G. M. Dawson, has called attention to this and other gaps in our geographical knowledge of the northern part of the Dominion, and in 1893 Mr. J. B. Tyrrell was despatched to explore the country from Lake Athabasca to the sea. He was accompanied by his brother Mr. J. W. Tyrrell, the author of one of the books at the head of this article. The route as far as Fort Chippewyan was the familiar road, which Mackenzie, Franklin, Back, Richardson, Simpson and Rae had travelled on their way to the

Arctic ocean, and which now, under the charge of the Hudson Bay Company, has been covered by a continuous service of stages and steamers from Edmonton. The Tyrrells started on the 21st of June from Fort Chippewyan, and on the 1st of July left Lake Athabasca on the journey to the north-east in three canoes accompanied by six Indians and half-breeds. For two months they pushed on along unknown rivers and nameless lakes, enduring as best they could the inclemency of the weather, the annoyance of flies and scarcity of food, until on September 1st a wandering band of Eskimo directed them to Baker Lake and the passage to Chesterfield Inlet. They had thus connected the survey of the interior with that made by English sailors two centuries before. On the 6th of August they had crossed the route taken by Hearne, and almost immediately after they entered Lake Doobaunt or Tobaunt, which had been sighted by him in 1770. The character of the country does not appear to have varied much throughout the whole journey. Rapid rivers and small lakes separated by swamps and rocky portages, characteristic of the Laurentian formation, rendered it truly worthy of its name, the Barren Lands.

Perhaps the most impressive part of Mr. Tyrrell's book is his description of the vast herds of reindeer found in the far north. He says:

"The next day . . . one of the party called attention to something moving on the distant shore to our right. . . . Drawing nearer we found there was not only one band [of deer], but that there were many great bands, literally covering the country over wide areas. The valleys and hillsides for miles appeared to be moving masses of reindeer. To estimate their numbers would be impossible. They could only be reckoned in acres or square miles. . . . After the slaughter of the first day we carried no rifles with us, but armed only with a camera walked to and fro through the herd, causing little more alarm than one would by walking through a herd of cattle in a field." (pp. 85, 86.)

Mr. J. Burr Tyrrell, in a report issued in connection with the Geological Survey,* estimates that one herd seen contained two hundred thousand of these animals. They are very easily killed

* *Report on the Doobaunt, Kazan and Ferguson Rivers and the North-West Coast of Hudson Bay, and on two overland routes from Hudson Bay to Lake Winnipeg*, by J. Burr Tyrrell, M.A., F.G.S., etc. Ottawa: S. E. Dawson. 1897. Pp. 218. The Report deals with the scientific results of the expedition. It is illustrated by photographs; those taken among the herds of caribou are striking.

in the summer when they are stupid and easily approached. The improvident Indians kill them often only for the sake of their tongues. In fact, in the north at the present time reindeer life is wasted as profusely as formerly was buffalo life in the North-west. The size of the herds is said to have decreased of late years.

The after part of their journey, an adventurous voyage in open canoes from Chesterfield Inlet to Fort Churchill, is a stirring account of what promised at one time to be certain destruction, only averted by sending the strongest of the party on foot for assistance. Mr. Tyrrell has written an interesting and fascinating book. It would have been even better if he had devoted less space to the earlier portion of their route, which has been so frequently travelled, and to descriptions of the manners and customs of the Eskimos, and more to the unknown land which he has been the first to traverse. A list of plants and an Eskimo vocabulary add value to it. Mr. Heming's illustrations are good, but with few exceptions have no connection with the text, while the photographic illustrations are of great interest. The typography is very correct, but a few errors like "Ray" for Rae have crept in.

The avowed object of Mr. Whitney's journey was sport and not exploration, and he therefore turns his steps due north from Great Slave Lake in search of the musk-ox, which has been reported by Arctic travellers to be abundant in that region. Leaving Fort Chippewyan on January 24th, 1894, he reached his most northerly point on April 5th. To penetrate the Barren Lands to within eighty miles of the polar sea during the rigours of an arctic winter speaks volumes for the energy and endurance of the sportsman, though whether the result is worthy of the risk is doubtful. Mr. Whitney handles the pen of a ready writer and lightens his narrative by characteristic sketches of the Indians and half-breeds with whom he comes in contact. It is interesting to note that the entire time from leaving New York to his return is just six months. The volume is freely illustrated from photographs taken by the author.

JAMES BAIN, JR.

The Mineral Wealth of Canada. A Guide for Students of Economic Geology. By Arthur B. Willmott. Toronto: William Briggs. 1897. Pp. 201.

Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for the year ending 31st December, 1896, being an Account of Mining Operations for Gold, Coal, etc., in the Province of British Columbia. Victoria: Wolfenden. 1897. Pp. 103.

Sixth Report of the Bureau of Mines (Ontario), 1896. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. 1897. Pp. 289.

The apathy too long shown by Canadians in the development of their mineral resources has of late given way to a very lively interest in such matters, an interest that has spread to other countries, including England, and is likely to lead to an important change in the rate of advance of the Dominion in population as well as wealth. The present increase in mining activity may well, therefore, prove to be a turning-point in the history of the country, which will probably in the near future become a prominent producer of gold and other metals. This enhanced interest in mines and minerals finds expression in the reports of the mining departments of certain provinces of the Dominion, and in the publication of books treating of our mining resources. Among books intended to bring our stores of valuable minerals before students and prospectors, "The Mineral Wealth of Canada," by Professor A. B. Willmott, of McMaster University, Toronto, takes a high place. It professes no special originality as to materials, which have been gathered from various sources, particularly from the excellent reports of the Geological Survey of Canada; but it brings into compact space the results of extensive reading, and affords to those unfamiliar with the geological literature of the Dominion a convenient compendium of accurate information as to our economic minerals. The Canadian output of the more important metals, except iron, is now increasing so rapidly however, that the book will need frequent revision to keep at all up to date.

After a short introduction, covering the outlines of lithology, etc., twenty pages are devoted to a general discussion of ore deposits. About sixty pages serve to describe the metalliferous

deposits of Canada, brief comparisons being made with the output of other countries. A second section treats of non-metallic minerals of importance, such as salt, coal and petroleum; and a third takes up the rocks and their products. The descriptions are brief and, on the whole, accurate, though slips on minor points may be noticed. After the account of each metal or mineral a list of authorities on the subject is given, so that further information may readily be obtained. The book is useful and timely, and is neatly but unpretentiously printed and bound.

The Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for the Province of British Columbia gives an account of mining operations during 1896, the work of compilation being done by Mr. W. A. Carlyle, Provincial Mineralogist. The report begins with a table showing the total production up to the close of 1896 of gold, silver, lead, copper, coal etc., in the province, the value of the whole amounting to \$100,931,604, of which more than half is credited to gold. Then follow tables showing the production of gold, coal, etc., for each successive year. The bulk of the report consists of more or less detailed accounts of individual mining properties, each district being treated separately. The lists of names of claims granted sometimes read curiously, when, for instance, the Black Bear, Badger, Bid, Buckeye, Bluebird, Beechwood, Boomer, Big Chief, and Bugaboo are found associated, or when Jay Gould, Jim Crow, Josie, Jessie and Jumbo consort together. There is little scientific information that is of much value in the report beyond descriptions of the geology of the different districts, taken from the publications of the Geological Survey of Canada. There are, however, many items that will have historical interest when the unknown gulches and mountain slopes whose claims are now being explored shall develop into prosperous mining centres. Numerous well printed photographic reproductions add life to the pages, and maps and plans in some cases serve to complete the descriptions.

In spite of much detail that is of little interest except to owners of stock in the various properties, there is something impressive in this review of the beginnings of what is destined to become a great mining country; of what, indeed, is already a

region of splendid production for so small a population as that of British Columbia. The production of coal and placer gold shows a slight falling off as compared with the statistics of past years; but this is far more than made up by the rapid increase in the production of gold and other metals from lode mines. Gold obtained from other than placer mines increases in value from \$23,404 in 1893 to \$1,244,180 in 1896, and silver advances from a value of \$66,935 in 1892 to \$2,100,689 in 1896, an increase the more surprising from the fact that other silver-producing countries are decreasing their output because of the low price of the white metal. Lead and copper show a similarly rapid increase; and the whole product of these four metals from lode mining has advanced from a value of \$139,440 in 1892 to \$4,257,179 in 1896. This rapid increase is due to the steady advance in the development of the Kootenay region in southern British Columbia, where the Rossland district is developing its immense deposits of gold-copper ores and the Slocan is steadily increasing its output of silver-lead ores. In all, the report inspires a strong confidence in British Columbia's mineral resources.

The Sixth Annual Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines (1896), contains in Section III an excellent list of historical work by Mr. Archibald Blue, its Director. He recounts the romantic "Story of Silver Islet," which is but "a speck upon the map of Lake Superior," but furnished in its day more than three millions worth of silver. After an account of the geology of the region, which is peculiar from its cappings of more or less columnar trap (diabase) forming the flat tops of the famous Thunder Cape and other mountains, and protecting the soft Animikie slate beneath, the development of the Woods location is taken up. While Mr. Macfarlane and his party were engaged in surveying the region in 1868, the vein on the small island was found. So rich was it, that in the following year native silver to the value of \$16,000 was obtained from the islet, or from the bottom of the adjoining water, by ten men during fourteen days of actual working, which was possible only in the calmest of weather. Notwithstanding this bright showing, the Montreal Mining Company, in whose hands it was, determined to sell the property, which, after

much negotiation, was purchased by Mr. A. H. Sibley, of New York, joined by some other American capitalists. In 1870, a breakwater and dam were constructed to make mining possible on the leaky little island, and though portions of these were washed away from time to time by winter tempests on that exposed north shore, by 1872 a marvellous change had been wrought. A substantial village with housing for five hundred men had been built on the formerly desolate main shore, a mile to the north, to accommodate the staff and miners; and the islet, originally only eighty by one hundred feet in dimensions, and threatened with submergence at any time by a lake storm, had been "enlarged to over two acres, well protected from storm and water and covered with buildings for the mining, assorting and packing of the ore." In the meantime silver enough had been obtained to pay for the property and for mining and smelting the ore, as well as to provide \$262,666 for division among the shareholders.

The brilliant success of the mine aroused envy, and a deliberate attempt was made to "jump the location," on the ground that the islands off from the mainland were not included in the original patent. An application was made to the Crown Lands Department for these islands, without the knowledge of Mr. Sibley or other members of the company, and the grant was made; but opportunely the government allowing this went out of office before the transaction was completed, and a new government refused to ratify the bargain.

As the mine was sunk deeper there were great variations in the character of the ore, exceedingly rich pockets being followed by comparatively barren portions; and below 292 feet water began to come in in such quantities that the miners were driven from their work and additional pumping power had to be provided. In spite of leakage, the tearing away of cribs by storms, and other difficulties, the work went on bravely under Mr. Frue, the manager, and more than half a million dollars worth of silver was obtained in 1873.

The increasing quantity of low-grade ore made it needful to erect and equip a stamp-mill to crush and concentrate the ore; and Mr. Frue in carrying out the work invented the apparatus,

now known wherever ores of low grade are treated, as the Frue vanner, a rotating band of rubber with a gentle slope, down which small streams of water flow, carrying off the lighter gangue, while the heavy ores are carried upward against the current and dropped in a separate receptacle. It is worthy of note that this most widely used of concentrators, now at work all over the world, was invented in the province of Ontario. The grade of ore continuing to fall, mining operations were at last, in 1876, carried on at a heavy loss; but in 1878 fresh discoveries of rich ore were made in the mine and things looked more hopeful. This "bonanza" was, however, soon used up, and in February, 1884, work ceased, the immediate cause being the failure of the coal supply for the pumping engines, the steamer which was to bring it having been frozen in. The mine filled with water, was never again worked, and was at length sold under foreclosure of mortgage. It had reached a depth of 1,250 feet on the incline, and is up to the present the deepest mine in Canada; it had also produced in all \$3,500,000 worth of silver, the largest product from any metalliferous mine in Canada.

Mr. Blue closes a very interesting bit of historical study by drawing some inferences as to the wise management of mining properties. The story of the mine is helped by a number of good photo-engravings of the mine buildings, the village and the striking scenery in the vicinity of Thunder Cape.

A. P. COLEMAN.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON EVENTS IN THE YUKON DISTRICT,
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES.

The history of the Yukon district of the north-west territory and that of the adjacent northern part of British Columbia, separated from it only by the 60th parallel of latitude, must be taken together. It begins with the explorations of the Hudson Bay Company, made in the interests of trade, for the old North-west company never extended its operations into any part of this region. Next comes the discovery of gold on the Stikine in 1861, and in the Cassiar country proper in 1872, and, at a long interval, about 1881, the initiation of mining on the upper tribu-

taries of the Yukon and the subsequent events along that great river and its feeders. The history of Alaska proper, to the west of the 141st meridian, and that connected with the negotiations leading up to the convention of 1825 in regard to the boundary with Russian America, are not included in the present notes.

Probably in consequence of the negotiations with Russia about that time, in the course of which the Hudson Bay Company had been consulted by the British government (the existing interests in dispute being chiefly those of that company and the Russian American corporation) the attention of the company was directed to the vast inland region between the posts on the Mackenzie and the Russian outposts on the Pacific coast. Thus, in 1834, two expeditions were set on foot, one to occupy a post at the mouth of the Stikine, on the Pacific coast, the other to explore westward from Fort Halkett (lat. $59^{\circ} 30'$, long. $126^{\circ} 30'$), then the farthest point occupied on the Liard or "west branch of the Mackenzie." The first, having been heard of by the Russian company, was frustrated by its prior occupation (under the name of Fort Dionysius) of the place now called Wrangell; the second constituted the commencement of that exploration of the interior of which it is proposed here to enumerate briefly the main events.

Chief trader J. McLeod led the expedition last referred to, and after surmounting the dangerous rapids of the Liard, ascended what is now known as the Dease river and named Dease Lake, at its head, after Peter Warren Dease, the Arctic explorer. From the lake he continued westward to the upper waters of the Stikine, finding there what he had been instructed to search for, a river running to the Pacific ocean, but without knowing under what name its waters reached the ocean. Two years later, McLeod's successor at Fort Halkett was sent to establish a post in the newly discovered region, but owing to a panic arising from the reported proximity of hostile natives this expedition entirely failed. In 1837, a far distant part of the Yukon district was touched by Messrs. Dease and Simpson, who examined the Arctic coast between the mouth of the Mackenzie and Point Barrow. In 1838, the attempt to establish posts to the westward by way of the Liard was renewed by the Hudson Bay

Company. The enterprise was entrusted, on this occasion, to Robert Campbell, who thus began a series of remarkable explorations, the results of which, though scarcely appreciated at the time, even by the company for which he worked, can never be forgotten in the history of the far north-west. Campbell, accompanied only by a half-breed and two Indian lads, established an outpost on Dease Lake, and remained there during the winter of 1838-39, amid constant alarms from the "Russian" or coast Indians and with scarcely anything in the nature of supplies. In May, starvation forced him to abandon his post and return down the Liard.

Meanwhile, in 1837, a long lease of what is now the Alaskan "coast-strip" had been secured by the Hudson Bay Company on terms agreed upon with the Russian company, and the fur-trade being thus controlled on both sides by the first-named company, it became unnecessary to occupy Dease Lake. Campbell, no doubt, first heard of this arrangement on his return to the Mackenzie in 1839. The negotiations between representatives of the companies had been carried on in Hamburg, and with the slowness of communication at the time, the authorities in the Mackenzie district could not have been sooner made aware of them or of their result. Thenceforward, and for many years, what afterwards became known as the Cassiar country, centring about Dease Lake, was practically forgotten, its furs finding their way to the coast or to the Mackenzie, probably in part by Fort Connelly, which had been established by Douglas in 1826 at Bear Lake at the head of the Skeena river.* In 1840, however, Campbell was commissioned by Sir George Simpson to explore the "North Branch" of the Liard (the Dease being the "South Branch") to its source, and to cross the height-of-land in search of waters flowing thence to the west or north, it being assumed that such streams would probably lead to the Colville, the mouth of which, on the Arctic ocean, had been discovered in 1837 by Dease and Simpson. It was this search that led to the discovery

*John Finlay's exploration of 1824, up the Finlay branch of Peace River, of which a manuscript account exists, does not seem to have led to the opening of any trade route in that direction.

of the Yukon. Campbell had been preceded, it appears, in the direction indicated for a part of the way by McLeod, for though no detailed account of McLeod's journey has been found, it must have been due to his observations that the Liard as far as Simpson Lake was represented on Arrowsmith's map of 1850, previous to the communication of Campbell's results. Campbell left Fort Halkett in May, with a canoe and seven men, and made his way up the rapid stream to Frances Lake, so named after Lady Simpson. Here he left his canoe, and with three Indians and his interpreter, Hoole,* continued on foot for some fifty miles till he reached a large river which he named the Pelly, after one of the governors of the company. He made a raft and drifted for some miles down the river, before returning to Frances Lake, where, meanwhile, the other men of his party had built a house which was named "Glenlyon House," but afterwards became known as Fort Frances. Fortified by a "trading outfit," which had been sent after him from Fort Halkett, Campbell spent the winter of 1840-41 at Frances Lake.

The company being resolved to follow up Campbell's discoveries, we find him in 1842 establishing Fort Pelly Banks and in June 1843 leaving that new post with a party of six men to explore the Pelly river. This he did for about 300 miles, or to the confluence of the large branch named by him the Lewea. Nothing further was done in this direction beyond Pelly Banks for some years, but meanwhile an opening was being made into the Yukon district in another direction, much further north.

In 1842, Mr. J. Bell, of the Hudson Bay Company, had crossed the mountains from the post situated on Peel River (Fort Macpherson) near the delta of the Mackenzie, and reached the Porcupine, and in 1846 he descended and explored that river to its confluence with the main stream, which the Indians told him was called the Yukon. In the following year, Fort Yukon was established by A. H. Murray, at the mouth of the Porcupine.

In the winter of 1847-48 boats were built at Pelly Banks, and in June, 1848, Campbell set out to establish a post at the

*Resident as an employee of the company at Fort Yukon in 1867, according to Whymper and Dall.

confluence of the Lewes. This was named Fort Selkirk. In 1850 Campbell descended the river from Fort Selkirk to Fort Yukon, thus proving for the first time the connection of the Pelly river with the Yukon. From Fort Yukon he ascended the Porcupine, crossed the mountains and returned to headquarters at Fort Simpson *up* the Mackenzie, to the great surprise of the people there. One result of this journey was, however, to show that the route *via* the Porcupine was better than that by the Liard as a means of access for trade to the Yukon basin, and in consequence of this and of the great sacrifices which it had been necessary to make to keep up the posts on the latter route, these posts were abandoned, Pelly Banks in 1850 and Fort Frances in 1851.

In 1852 Fort Selkirk was pillaged by coast Indians, Chilkats or Chilkoots from the vicinity of Lynn Canal. No resistance was possible on the part of Campbell and his few men, but they were not personally molested. The hostility of these coast Indians resulted from the fact that the new post was interfering with a trade with the inland tribes which they had always regarded as specially their own. When the raiders had left and Campbell had made arrangements for the wintering of some of his people at Fort Yukon, he set out in a small canoe to report the occurrences at headquarters on the Mackenzie, reaching Fort Simpson by his old route just before the river closed, late in October. Wishing to appeal personally to Sir George Simpson for leave to re-establish his favourite post, he made a most remarkable journey during the winter, on snow-shoes, from Fort Simpson across the continent to Crow Wing in Minnesota, whence he reached London in about a month, but was unable to get the authorization he desired.

Lapierre House, on the eastern head-waters of the Porcupine, was established about 1853 as an outpost of Fort Macpherson (or "Peel River post") and an intermediate station on the way to Fort Yukon, but no other establishments were maintained by the company in what is now known as the Yukon district for many years thereafter. It appears that in 1853 one of Campbell's hunters arrived from the Yukon by way of the Pelly and

Frances, but subsequent to that date the old route is not known to have been again traversed until the date of our survey of 1887. In 1853, chief factor James Anderson states* that fourteen deaths of employees by drowning or from starvation had attended the attempt to establish and maintain this Liard River route to the Yukon.

The winter of 1860-61 was spent at Fort Yukon by Mr. R. Kennicott, the well-known collector and naturalist. He had reached this post from the Mackenzie district and returned the same way. Previous to 1853, the Hudson Bay men had met the Russian traders near the mouth of the Tanana, below Fort Yukon. In 1863, I. S. Lukeen, of the Russian company ascended to Fort Yukon, but none of the Russian traders appear to have entered at any time what is now the Yukon district.

The next event to be chronicled is the discovery of gold on the bars of the Stikine river in 1861 by two miners named Choquette ("Buck") and Carpenter. In the following spring several parties set out from Victoria for the river, and in 1863 the Russian authorities, having heard of it, sent a corvette to ascertain whether mining was being carried on in Russian territory. A boat-party ascended as far as the Little Cañon. A plan of the lower river was printed by the Russian Hydrographical Department in 1867, and in the following year Mr. W. P. Blake, of San Francisco, who accompanied the expedition, published some account of it. Mining operations on a limited scale continued along the lower Stikine for a number of years, and in consequence of these a Hudson Bay post was established in 1862 or 1863 at a point about fifty miles up the river. This was maintained till 1874, when it was moved up to Glenora. In 1866, explorations under Major Pope, for a route for the Western Union or Collins' Telegraph, intended to connect Europe and North America by way of Asia, were extended to the Stikine basin. These explorations in the Stikine region were carried on during the following year by M. W. Byrnes, Vital Lafleur, W. McNeill and P. J. Leich. Rough sketches were made of most of the main tributaries of the Stikine, and extended, as it now

* In a manuscript report.

proves, by Byrnes to the head of Teslin Lake. In 1867, Ketchum and Labarge pushed exploratory work up the Yukon as far as the site of Fort Selkirk, and Dall and Whymper reached Fort Yukon; but the whole of this work was abandoned in the same year on receipt of news of the successful laying of an Atlantic cable. In 1867 the Rev. J. McDonald was already stationed by the Church Missionary Society at Fort Yukon. It has not been ascertained whether missions were continuously maintained along the Yukon and Porcupine from this date, but it is probable that this was the case.

Russian America having passed by cession to the United States in 1867, in 1869 Captain C. W. Raymond was sent by the United States government, on the initiative of the Alaska Commercial Company, to determine the position of Fort Yukon. Having ascertained that it was to the west of the 141st meridian, there constituting the line of boundary, he promptly informed the representatives of the company of the fact, notified them that "the introduction of trading goods, or any trade with the natives is illegal and must cease," and took possession of the post. The company then erected a new post (Rampart House) nearly 100 miles up the Porcupine river. This was again moved in a few years to a point about twelve miles further up the river, where it remained till 1891.

The Convention of 1825, between Great Britain and Russia, (Art. VI) provided in perpetuity for the navigation by British subjects, "without any hindrance whatever," of all streams crossing the line of coast accorded to Russia. In 1871, the Treaty of Washington between Great Britain and the United States (Art. XXVI) reaffirmed the free navigation of the Stikine for purposes of commerce, and included the Yukon and Porcupine.

In 1871, Henry Thibert, a French-Canadian, and McCulloch, a Scotchman, who had found their way to the then abandoned site of Fort Halkett, on the Liard, on a hunting and prospecting expedition, passed the winter there, suffering great hardship from want of food, but finding gold in the river bars. When spring opened they continued westward to Dease Lake, which had not apparently been visited by any white man since its abandon-

ment by Campbell in 1839. There they intended to lay in a stock of fish for the ensuing winter, but hearing from Indians of the proximity of the Stikine and the presence of miners on that river they went there. In 1873 they set out on their return to their discovery on the Liard, but found better paying ground on Thibert Creek, at the lower end of Dease Lake. There they were soon after joined by thirteen miners from the Stikine, and in the same summer Dease Creek was also discovered.

Cassiar at once became a mining district, but into the details of its history as such it is here impossible to enter. The population in 1874 was about 1,500, and the yield of gold is estimated at \$1,000,000. In 1875 the miners numbered 1,081, and the yield was valued at \$830,000. In 1876 the population at one time reached 2,000, but profitable work could not be found for so many, and the yield fell to \$499,830. Several steamers plied upon the Stikine to the head of navigation at Telegraph Creek or Glenora. A steamer was built upon Dease Lake. Laketon became a thriving centre, and several other mining camps were established. Since that time the product in gold has gradually diminished, but has never ceased. Mining remained confined to the placer deposits, no new rich creeks were discovered, and enterprise in the district became strangled by various causes into which it is not here necessary to enter. In 1876, some attention was drawn to the Stikine in connection with questions arising out of the conveyance of a criminal, one Marten, across the coast-strip of Alaska. As a result a provisional boundary-line was agreed upon without prejudice. (Dominion of Canada, Sessional Papers, Vol. XI. No. 11, 1878.)

The Cassiar country proper, it will be remembered, drains into the Mackenzie by the Liard River, which cuts across the Rocky Mountains. We have now to trace the discovery of gold and the development of mining in the basin of the Yukon itself, which, although contiguous and occupying a similar position between the Rocky Mountains and the coast ranges, drains northward and then westward to Behring Sea. In 1872, Harper and McQuestion, who had been engaged with others in a hunting, prospecting and trading expedition on the Peace and Liard rivers and in the lower

valley of the Mackenzie, crossed the mountains from Fort Macpherson and descended the Porcupine to the Yukon. Harper wintered on White River, McQuestion was obliged to go to the mouth of the Yukon for supplies, but returning next summer established the trading-post known as Fort Reliance. Here Harper joined McQuestion in 1873, and after that time they carried on trade with Indians at several places along the river, latterly in close connection with, or as agents of, the Alaska Commercial Company. When the miners entered the country from the south, they found these traders established on that part of the river below the site of old Fort Selkirk.

As long ago as 1869, Mr. F. Whymper published the fact that "minute specks" of gold were found along the Yukon by the Hudson Bay Company's employees, and in 1876 or 1877 it is reported that one Mike Powers, with seven or eight other prospectors, crossed from Taku Inlet to what is now known as Teelin Lake, returning by the same route and apparently without making any discovery of gold; but the prospecting of the Yukon country with a view to mining can scarcely be said to have begun till 1878. Inquiries show that it was in this year that one George Holt (killed by Indians at Cook's Inlet in 1885) followed the Indian route over the Chilkoot Pass from the coast, travelled by Lake Marsh to the Teelin, and returned reporting the discovery of gold. Holt afterwards allowed himself to become the subject of various apocryphal stories which may be dismissed from consideration. In the same year the brothers Rath, of Victoria, and E. Bean, of San Francisco, attempted to cross the pass, but were prevented from doing so by the Indians. Fort Yukon, built by the Hudson Bay Company, had passed into the hands of the Alaska Commercial Company, but was in 1879 or 1880 (according to Schwatka) abandoned, and was subsequently allowed to go to ruin.

No important developments immediately followed Holt's journey, for it was not till 1880 that a strong prospecting party was organized at Sitka by Bean. The party had increased to twenty-five when what is now known as Lake Lindeman was reached, and at least two other miners followed at a later date.

Gold was found on river bars, but not in what was considered as remunerative quantity. It was in the following year (1881) that what may be regarded as the first discovery of payable placer deposits occurred, by another party, travelling by the same route, but ascending afterwards the Big Salmon river for some distance. In 1882, more miners went in over the Chilkoot pass, and gold was discovered in this year or the next on the Stewart river by two brothers named Boswell. There were thirty or forty miners in all in the Yukon country that summer. In the same year Dr. A. Krause, on behalf of the Bremen Geographical Society, made an interesting exploration of the Chilkoot and Chilkat passes and the country in their vicinity, of which the results were published in Germany. Also in 1882 a mission station was established at Rampart House, on the Porcupine, by the Church Missionary Society. In 1883 and 1884, some mining was in progress on river bars, chiefly along the Lewes, and in the first-named year Lieut. Schwatka, U. S. Army, crossed the Chilkoot pass and descended by the Lewes and Yukon to the sea, making a fairly correct sketch of his route. The results of his journey appeared in an official report dated 1885, in a popular work entitled "Along Alaska's Great River" (1885), and in various magazine and press articles. He found both Fort Reliance and Belle Isle (a trading-post established by F. Mercier for the Alaska Commercial Company just west of the 141st meridian) abandoned in 1883. In 1885 and 1886 most of the miners were engaged on the Stewart, and the bars of this river were pretty thoroughly worked over, with an aggregate yield in gold valued at about \$100,000. In 1886 Cassiar bar, so far the richest known on the Lewes river, was found and worked.

In consequence of the above discoveries and explorations some attention began to be directed to the valley of the Yukon, particularly in British Columbia, and the writer urged upon the late Hon. T. White, Minister of the Interior, the importance of gaining some accurate knowledge of it and its possibilities, in the interest of Canada. To Mr. White's approval and encouragement the despatch of the Yukon expedition of 1887-88 was directly due. All possible information was in the first place collected, largely

by correspondence with Mr. R. Campbell, the original explorer of the Yukon, then still living as a resident of Manitoba, and early in the spring of 1887 the writer was despatched in charge of a geological and geographical reconnaissance of the territory. Mr. W. Ogilvie was a member of this expedition, being specially charged with the measurement of a line from the head of Lynn Canal, by the Lewes river and Yukon to the boundary at the 141st meridian, and Messrs. R. G. McConnell and J. McEvoy, of the Geological Survey, were attached as assistants to the expedition.

It is unnecessary to follow the work of the parties in detail, as this is given in several official reports published soon after by the Canadian government.* It may suffice to note that the writer, personally assisted by Mr. McEvoy, traversed and surveyed, in 1887, a route from Telegraph Creek by the Dease, Upper Liard and Frances to a point near the sources of the Pelly, down the latter river, up the Lewes and across the Chilkoot pass to the coast, making in all a distance of 1,322 miles. Mr. McConnell surveyed the Stikine below Telegraph Creek, and the Lower Liard, in the same year, and after wintering at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie and making thence some subsidiary trips during the winter of 1888, examined the Mackenzie to its delta, crossed the mountains, descended the Porcupine and ascended the Yukon and Lewes to the coast. Mr. Ogilvie, after completing an instrumentally measured line by the Lewes and Yukon to the vicinity of the 141st meridian, established winter quarters and an observatory there in the autumn.

Late in the autumn of 1886 "coarse" gold had been found on Forty-mile Creek, and nearly the whole mining population of the region, about 250 in all, was concentrated there. No authentic news of the discovery reached the coast before the early summer of 1887, but in the spring of that year Harper and McQuestion

*See particularly Report on the Yukon District and adjacent northern portion of British Columbia, G. M. Dawson, and Report on Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins, R. G. McConnell, both published by the Geological Survey; Exploratory Survey of parts of the Lewes, Tatonduc, Porcupine, Bell, Trout, Peel and Mackenzie Rivers, W. Ogilvie.

abandoned a post they had established at the mouth of the Stewart and moved to Forty-mile Creek. There about 300 men were at work in 1887, making during the season about \$112,500, much of which, however, came from tributaries of Forty-mile Creek within the Alaska boundary. Four small stern-wheel steamers were already on the river in 1887, and these had ascended as far as the Stewart river. Three of them belonged to the Alaska Commercial Company. T. Boswell and two other prospectors spent the summer on the Teslin or Hootalinqua river and its branches. About 100 miners remained in the country during the winter of 1887-88, and a station of the Church Missionary Society (Buxton) was established near Forty-mile Creek. The total value of gold produced in the district (excluding Alaska) may be roughly estimated at \$70,000.

In the early spring of 1888, Mr. W. Ogilvie, having completed his observations for the determination of the 141st meridian, left the Yukon by the valley of the Tatonduc, crossed the watershed to the Porcupine (which was found to head near the sources of the first-named river), and travelled to Lapierre House, thus exploring a route through an entirely unknown territory. After crossing the mountains, he returned southward up the Mackenzie. A possible re-arrangement of the Canada-Alaska boundary was discussed in connection with the Fishery Conference in Washington, early in the year, but without result. (U. S. 50th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. 146.) The year 1888 was a very unfavourable one for mining, but the gold produced in the Yukon district (Canadian) was estimated at \$40,000.

In 1889, Messrs. J. H. Turner and J. E. McGrath, of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, were sent by their government to ascertain, respectively, the points at which the 141st meridian crosses the Porcupine and Yukon rivers. McGrath re-occupied Ogilvie's observation station. I. C. Russell of the U. S. Geological Survey accompanied the above-mentioned parties. He ascended the Yukon and Lewes rivers and crossed the Chilkoot pass to the coast, thus following (above the mouth of the Porcupine) the route previously examined, geologically, by the writer and Mr. McConnell. His notes on the surface geology of the region

appear in Vol. I., Bull. Geol. Soc. Am. (1890). The gold produced during the year in the Yukon district was estimated at \$175,000.

In 1890, according to Hayes, a party of eight prospectors crossed from Taku Inlet to Teslin Lake. Some whaling vessels intended to winter this year at Herschel Island, and probably did so. The Anglican diocese of "Selkirk" (practically identical with the Yukon district) was established by the Provincial Synod, this diocese being separated from that of the Mackenzie River. The estimated value of gold produced in the Yukon district this year was \$175,000.

In 1891, gold was found at Birch Creek, Alaska, 200 miles below Forty-mile Creek, and many of the Forty-mile miners went there. Schwatka organized a second expedition in the interests of several newspapers, to which C. W. Hayes of the U. S. Geological Survey was attached. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what work the leader performed, but Mr. Hayes crossed from Taku Inlet to Teslin Lake, descended to Selkirk, crossed overland from Selkirk to the head of White River and travelled thence down Copper River to the coast. A report, with map, resulting from his journey appears in the National Geographical Magazine (Washington, 1892). In the same year, E. J. Glave was engaged in an exploration across the Chilkat Pass, of which imperfect accounts are given in Frank Leslie's Illustrated and in other periodicals. About 150 men were at work this season in the Yukon district. W. C. Bompas was appointed bishop of the diocese of Selkirk. Rampart House was moved about twenty miles further up the Porcupine, it having been ascertained that the former site was still within the territory of Alaska. Harper had a trading-post at Selkirk in this year. About 140 miners were employed on Forty-mile Creek, and about ten on Lewes River. The estimated value of gold produced in the Yukon district in 1891 was \$40,000.

With the exception of the Porcupine river, the trade of which was controlled by the Hudson Bay Company, the Alaska Commercial Company held a practical monopoly of the Yukon valley trade until 1892. In this year, the North American Transportation and Trading Company was organized in Chicago,

and Fort Cudahy was established as its head-quarters, a short distance below the mouth of Forty-mile Creek. Mining extended from the branches of Forty-mile Creek southward to the tributaries of Sixty-mile Creek, and Miller Creek was worked. About 200 miners wintered in the country. A station of the Church Missionary Society was established at Selkirk. The estimated value of gold produced in 1892 was \$87,500.

In 1893, parties were sent by the governments of Canada and the United States to survey the region of the Alaska "coast-strip" with a view to acquiring data for the determination of the line of boundary. About 260 miners remained in the interior during the winter of 1893-94. The estimated value of gold produced in 1893 was \$176,000.

In the spring of 1894, Inspector Constantine and Sergeant Brown, of the North-west mounted police, were sent in to the Yukon district to collect customs dues and preserve order. W. Ogilvie, in the winter, conducted an exploration up the Taku river, but did not reach Teslin Lake. About 500 miners wintered in the district. I. O. Stringer, of the Canadian Church Missionary Association was at Herschel Island this winter. The estimated value of gold produced in 1894 was \$125,000.

Early in the summer of 1895, it was estimated that not less than 1,000 men were at work in mining in the Yukon district, chiefly on Forty-mile and Sixty-mile Creeks, 350 being employed on Miller and Glacier Creeks alone. A detachment of twenty mounted police was sent in by way of the mouth of the Yukon. W. Ogilvie accompanied this party. Fort Constantine was built at Cudahy as police head-quarters. Glacier Creek, a tributary of Sixty-mile Creek, was first worked this year. The 141st meridian was run southward across the head-waters of Forty-mile and Sixty-mile Creeks by Ogilvie. Twelve whaling vessels remained at Herschel Island in the winter of 1895-96, and C. E. Whittaker, of the Canadian Church Missionary Association, was stationed there. The gold produced in the Yukon district this year was valued at \$250,000.

In 1896, D. W. Davis was appointed collector of customs for the Yukon district. During the early summer most of the miners.

were employed on the branches of Forty-mile and Sixty-mile Creeks, but about 100 men were reported to be working along the Teslin or Hootalinqua. Late in August, "coarse" gold was discovered by G. W. Cormack in the Klondyke valley. The richness of the find became established before the end of the year, and a "rush" occurred. Forty-mile and Sixty-mile Creeks were nearly abandoned and the population of Circle City, Alaska, (more than 100 miles below the boundary) was reduced from about 1,000 to about 300. Dawson, or "Dawson City" was laid out by J. Leduc at the mouth of Klondyke Creek. Glacier and Miller Creeks had been, up to this time, the richest discovered. Early in the summer, Mr. J. E. Spurr of the U. S. Geological Survey, with two assistants, crossed by the Chilkoot pass and descended the river for the purpose of exploring that part of the gold-bearing region which extends into Alaska. Forty head of cattle were this summer driven in over the "Dalton trail" from Chilkat to Fort Selkirk. Dalton, by whose name the trail is known, had already crossed several times by this route, from 1894 or perhaps even earlier, but had not made it generally known. The arrival of deserters from the whaling vessels at Herschel Island overland *via* Rampart House on the Porcupine, is mentioned in the police report as having occurred annually for some years. The value of gold obtained in the Yukon district in 1896 is estimated at \$300,000.

In the spring of 1897, T. Fawcett was sent to the Yukon district as gold commissioner, with two assistant surveyors. Twenty-five police with an officer were also despatched *via* the Chilkoot pass to relieve those in the country who had engaged for two years only. J. A. McArthur and A. St. Cyr were sent by the surveyor-general to examine the Chilkat pass and Dalton trail, and the country between the Stikine and Teslin Lake, respectively. The continued great influx of population led, later in the season, to the appointment, from August 15th, of Major J. M. Walsh as chief executive officer for the Yukon district. Judge McGuire of the Supreme Court of the North-west Territories was transferred to the Yukon and Mr. F. C. Wade was appointed registrar, crown prosecutor and clerk of court. Since September

1st, additional detachments of police, aggregating 100 men, have been despatched to the Yukon district. In August, Mr. T. W. Jennings, with assistants, was sent by the Canadian government to examine a route *via* the Stikine and overland from Telegraph Creek, the head of navigation on that river, to Teslin Lake, with a view to the construction of a railway. In October, the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, crossed the Chilkoot pass to the lakes and returned to the coast by the White pass, in order to ascertain the precise conditions prevailing there. An unprecedented rush of miners and others set in during the summer to the Yukon district, the majority going by way of the Chilkoot and White passes, from the head of Lynn Canal, some ascending the Yukon from its mouth on Behring Sea, and others filtering in by various channels. The results of this movement of population, both in the district and elsewhere, are still engaging the attention of the public and the press.

The value of gold produced in 1897 is roughly estimated at \$2,500,000, an amount greater by half a million dollars than that obtained from the Cariboo district of British Columbia in 1861, the year of the discovery and first working of Williams and Lightning Creeks.

With regard to the above brief historical notes on the Yukon district, it may be explained that the data for the earlier years are for the most part derived from the report of the writer which has already been referred to. Much attention was given at the time to the establishment of dates and events, by means of correspondence carried on with Mr. R. Campbell, and others connected with its early history. In the report referred to, additional particulars with the names of many subordinate actors may be found. It will be noted, however, that with the exception of a few collateral allusions, attention has been strictly confined to the Yukon district and adjacent northern part of British Columbia. The history of Alaska and that of the coast region are scarcely touched on. To have included these would have greatly lengthened these notes and would have involved the addition of much information already published elsewhere. It may also be observed, that the figures given for the value of the gold produced in the several

years are merely rough approximations, intended to represent the gold obtained within the borders of the Yukon district of Canada. The uncertainty, up to 1896, of the position of several productive streams tributary to Forty-mile and Sixty-mile Creeks in relation to the boundary, with the constant intercommunication by miners from different parts of the region, have rendered it impossible to discriminate fully between the product from Alaska and that from the Yukon district, more especially as no authorized means have existed of endeavoring to ascertain the total output on the ground.

GEORGE M. DAWSON.

The publications in 1897 relating to the Yukon district are very numerous, but most of them have little if any value. The following partial list is of interest mainly as showing the attention which the Klondyke discoveries have attracted both in Europe and America:—

- (1) *Klondyke, the Yukon (Klondyke) Mines and how to reach them.* London: Crowther & Goodman, 193 Fenchurch St.
- (2) *Guide to Yukon Gold Fields.* By V. Wilson. Seattle, Wash., U.S.A.: The Calvert Co.
- (3) *The Official Guide to the Klondyke Country and Gold Fields of Alaska.* New York: W.B. Conkey Co.
- (4) *Klondike and the Yukon Country, with maps and photographic illustrations.* By L. A. Coolidge, with a chapter by John F. Pratt, Chief of Alaskan Boundary Expedition of 1894. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus.
- (5) *All about the Klondyke Gold Mines.* New York: The Miners' News Publishing Co.
- (6) *Golden Alaska.* By Ernest Ingersoll. Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Co.
- (7) *Klondyke.* By Charles Frederick Stansbury. New York: F. Tennyson Neely.
- (8) *A Guide to the Klondyke and the Yukon Gold Fields with map and illustrations.* Seattle, Wash.: Lowman and Hanford.
- (9) *Information respecting the Yukon District.* By Wm. Ogilvie. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.
- (10) *To Klondyke via Edmonton.* So. Edmonton, N. W. T.: Jas. H. McDonald & Jas. D. Skinner.
- (11) *The Gairdner & Harrison Prospector's Guide map and pamphlet to the Omenica, Cassiar, Liard, Klondyke and Yukon*

Gold Fields, vid the Edmonton route. Edmonton, N. W. T.: George W. Gairdner & Arthur G. Harrison. (12) *Klondike, the Chicago Record's Book for Gold Seekers.* Chicago: The Record. (13) *Klondyke and Fortune.* London: Southwood, Smith & Co. (14) *Klondyke, Truth and Facts of the New Eldorado.* By A. E. I. Sola. London: Mining and Geographical Institute. (15) *Klondyke; How to get there, when to go and what to take.* By H. E. Mitton. London: Samuel Deacon & Co. (16) *The Poor Man's Route to the Poor Man's Gold Country.* By R. J. Long, Boston, U. S. A. (17) *Klondike and All about it.* New York: Excelsior Publishing House. (18) *Klondike, a Manual for Gold Seekers.* By C. A. Bramble. New York: R. F. Feno & Co. (19) *Klondyke Nuggets.* By J. Ladue. Montreal: John Lovell & Son.

To the Shores of the Mingan Seigneurie, a trip from Tadousac along the northern border of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and up some of the rivers flowing into it, is described by Mr. Frederic Irland in Scribner's Magazine for September. The account is truly admirable, and to read it is to share the exuberant joy of a city-dweller in the midst of nature's delights. This is what Mr. Irland says of the view from a mountain a few miles up the Mingan river:

"I do not know how other men would feel on the top of that mountain, looking over into the depth of the Labrador wilderness, but to me that day all its voices sang a siren's song, and the myriad faces of the hills and lakes smiled a glad welcome. People are accustomed to think of that vast and far-off wild as a death-like, forbidding place. It is not so. In winter, cold and severe, no doubt; in summer it is God's own land of beauty."

The article will inevitably prompt the thought which happily is becoming more common—why should Canadians journey across the seas to climb Alpine heights, or to penetrate northern fiords, when a primeval paradise is part of their natural heritage? The historical student will be especially interested in that portion which explains the title of the article. Cartographers have recognized a settlement at the mouth of the Mingan for over 200 years. This settlement has now dwindled to the families of the Hudson Bay factor and the river warden, but it has been the centre of one of the most protracted legal controversies the world has

known. In 1661 the Company of New France made a grant to François Bissot, which gave vague rights to establish hunting and fishing stations and to take the necessary timber and lands down the coast to the "Great Bay toward the Esquimaux, where the Spaniards usually fish." Under this gift the Sieur Bissot and his successors claimed as the "Mingan Seigneury," a six-mile strip along the coast of the gulf from the Seven Islands to Blanc Sablon—a trifle over 400 miles. The French authorities repeatedly refused to confirm the title, but nothing daunted, the heirs of Bissot, promptly after the treaty of 1763, laid their claim before the British government. It was always disputed because of its uncertainty, but in 1854 the government of the province of Canada unguardedly admitted that there was such a thing as the Mingan Seigneury. Two hundred and thirty-one years after the original grant, the English Privy Council settled the length of the seigneury to be 150 miles—from Cape Cormorant to the River Goynish, and the Labrador Company has succeeded to the rights of the tenacious Bissot.

The Journal of a Tour in the United States, Canada and Mexico, by Winefred, Lady Howard of Glossop (London, Sampson Low), is a rather tedious narrative, showing no more than the ordinary traveller's insight. The simple trustfulness which prevails in New York is not usually what impresses visitors, yet Lady Howard was struck by it. It seems that passengers are expected to pay ten cents for riding in a New York omnibus, but, in compensation probably for the high price, it is left to their discretion whether to pay or not. In Canada, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Niagara Falls were visited. The author gives a glowing account of the view from Mount Royal, which is singularly in accordance with that of Jacques Cartier, the first European to see it. She admired also "the magnificent University of Toronto with its superb central tower and many turrets, and observatory, School of Science, library, etc." (p. 16).

On the Cars and Off, by Douglas Sladen (London, Warde Lock & Co.), appears in a new edition with an appendix on the Klondyke.

dyke region. This latter indeed must be the *raison d'être* of the republication of the volume, for the text has not been revised. Mr. Sladen never rises above the level of mediocre journalism, and his "foible of omniscience" is sometimes amusing. He deals in superlatives. St. Louis Gate is "the most effective bit of Gothic in America" (p. 43), and, of course, Mr. Sladen knows. The Windsor Hotel, too, at Montreal, is "the best in America" (p. 85). A square at Quebec is "the quaintest bit but one," (note the precision of statement!) "in the New World" (p. 46). At Toronto Mr. Sladen met "all the leading citizens" (p. 155), without exception, and he found that there was "a charming walk to Hanlan's Point" (p. 158), of course over a stretch of water a mile wide and some fathoms deep. In Canada, too, it appears that they always call whiskey "rye." It would be amusing to see how many hundred mistakes one could find in Mr. Sladen's book.

Professor Shortt, of Queen's University, during 1897 has had three articles on Canadian Banking (*The Early History of Canadian Banking from 1791 to 1812*; *The First Banks in Lower Canada*; and *The First Banks in Upper Canada*) in the Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association. In previous papers he has given the history of banking in Canada prior to 1791, and his work may be looked upon as a consecutive narrative of this branch of Canadian economic history. Professor Shortt's method has already been discussed in this Review. He omits all citation of authorities and assumes throughout the somewhat autocratic tone of the academic pedagogue, but his work is based upon original research, his views are independent, and his conclusions well reasoned. Too little has yet been written upon economic development in Canada, and the eminently successful system of Canadian banking is well worth the full historical treatment of which Mr. Shortt has now made a useful beginning.

Mr. Arthur Shadwell, in The National Review for October, discusses *The Canadian Enigma*, which is, of course, "Protection or Free Trade?" He quotes Mr. S. J. Maclean's "Tariff History of Canada," one of the University of Toronto studies, to prove

that protectionist sentiment has grown almost unceasingly in Canada since confederation. Mr. Shadwell is himself obviously an advocate of some kind of preferential trade within the Empire, and obviously, too, he thinks that the next important step which Canada takes will be in this direction :

"Last year we imported ten times as much wheat from the States as from Canada. She could grow it all without doubt. There is plenty of room, and Canadians believe they could do it in a few years with a little encouragement."

One of the best articles which have appeared in the Canadian Magazine is *Reciprocity Trips to Washington*, by Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun. Additional interest is lent to it by the fact that it was published only a few months before the recent visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the United States capital. Of the five attempts to secure "reciprocity," the first alone was successful. Lord Elgin had charge of the negotiations, and in order to get the treaty through an apathetic Senate he diplomatically studied the social life of Washington and became a great social success. After the Senate had given its assent, it was said that "British gold did it," and that "the treaty floated through on champagne." The treaty was really due to sound commercial judgment. When the time came for securing a renewal or extension, the party struggles in the Canadian Parliament of 1865 were so absorbing that the President had denounced the treaty before delegates were sent to Washington from Canada. Congress turned them over to the tender mercies of the Committee of Ways and Means. The committee made a ludicrous offer to admit grindstones, fire-wood, gypsum and the like in return for free fisheries, free canals—in fact for all that could be asked for, and the Canadians turned sorrowfully homewards. The hostility of Congress hastened Confederation, but united Canada still clung to the hope of reciprocity, and efforts were made to secure it in 1869, 1874, and again in 1892. The failure of these attempts was due largely to the patriotic unwillingness of Canada to discriminate against the mother country. "The United States authorities," concludes Mr. Colquhoun, "have naturally imbibed the notion that we are extremely anxious to obtain trade concessions, and if Sir Wilfrid Laurier's mission is unsuccessful, self-respect and common sense

require that it should be the last." Mr. Colquhoun emphasizes the great delicacy and tact involved in the negotiation of a commercial treaty with the United States. His article is lucid, interesting and valuable, and should be read by everyone who wishes to learn the salient features of our past negotiations at Washington.

The Railway Question in Canada with an Examination of the Railway Law in Iowa, by J. S. Willison (Toronto, Warwick), is a reprint of a letter written after a visit to the Canadian Northwest about two years ago. In a new country when a railway is first built the farmer and the ranchman institute a favourable comparison between the cost of haulage by primitive methods and the cost of railway transport; but they speedily find themselves drawn into comparison between the freight-rates in their district and those in the other settlements; then they begin to reproach the railway company for its exorbitant charges. This is the universal experience, and where the railways are in the hands of joint-stock companies, legislation has again and again been devised, in the interests of the traders who employ the railways, to fix rates by law. The tendency everywhere has undoubtedly been to intensify the public control of railways, and the burden of Mr. Willison's pamphlet is an argument for this. He points out that the Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, is affected only at a few points by competition, that elsewhere it possesses a monopoly, and that therefore "effective public regulation of charges" should be achieved. There can be no doubt about the desirability of the end; the question is about the means. The 'fair freight-rate' is as much of a will o' the wisp as a 'fair wage,' or a 'fair price.' Nor is it easy to see how "a business partnership can be formed with the railways" by means of which "the public interest and the railway interest would become synonymous." Such "a business partnership" might be an admirable arrangement from the railway and from the governmental point of view, and yet be no more acceptable to the individual trader, who wants the conservation, not of the general interest, but of his own. The principle of governmental regulation is indeed very difficult of application. The more effective, if less definite means

of control is the force of public opinion, and the dread of new lines being established in competition. Both of these are slow in their action ; but they are really much more certain than Acts of Parliament regulating rates where maximum legal rates tend to become minimum actual ones. Mr. Willison's pamphlet is written with clearness and courage ; although he hardly gives due prominence to the point of view of railway administration or to that of inevitable economic sequence. There are some arrangements in the nature of things which neither the government nor the people can effectively control.

"Charity aims to prevent pauperism ; as now administered it often produces pauperism." This declaration epitomizes the basis of the plea made by Agnes Maule Machar, of Kingston, in the July-August number of *The Charities Review* for a new system of *Outdoor Relief in Canada*. The poor of Canada, mainly composed of European immigrants, labour under the permanent disadvantage of a winter which compels cessation from many employments just at a season when nutritious food, warm clothes and comfortable houses are especially needed. Each winter the cry of the Canadian poor is not diminished. Why ? Miss Machar would answer : "Because we have been content with tiding over the necessities of the hour—all that is possible without united action." Each municipality chooses its own plan, and in the larger towns the work is done chiefly by voluntary committees. Miss Machar does not attempt a final solution of the great problem of united action, but she points out the path along which progress has been made. The State, in her view, must establish, not centres of relief, but centres of employment. It must provide schools for training in the handicrafts, associated with bureaus of employment. Miss Machar shows the success of analogous plans in many European states, and concludes a sympathetic article with three suggestions which may be summarized thus: first, organize local committees to consider the best methods of finding work—not alms—for the unemployed ; secondly, let these report to a central conference which shall make suggestions to the government regarding labour bureaus

and technical schools; thirdly, let the central conference make strong representations to the Canadian and United States governments, asking for joint action to extirpate the "tramp."

"The City Below the Hill" by Herbert Brown Ames, B.A. (Montreal), is a scientific study of the social condition of the poorest district in the city of Montreal. The arrangement of the book is defective, but otherwise the work is well done on the basis of statistics collected by inquiry from door to door. The results are interesting, and in some degree encouraging. The average house in the poorest part of Montreal contains two families; on the other hand there is rather more than an average of one room to a person. The rear tenement is the greatest blot upon the district, and is the home of its disease and vice. Sanitary conditions are defective, and the death-rate is high, 34 to the 1,000. The real industrial classes earn an income of about \$10.00 a week for each family, including the earnings of all its members, and this class pays about 20 per cent. of its income for rent. Mr. Ames thinks that families earning less than \$5.00 a week must be considered as in a destitute condition. Yet he himself shows that some families in the district live comfortably on less than this. Eleven and three-fifths per cent. of the population fall below the \$5.00 level of income, and of this number very few are new-comers. The social conditions of a Canadian city stand thus in striking contrast with those of a city of the United States, in which almost invariably the very poor are recently imported foreigners. The liquor shops are most numerous in the poorest quarters of the city, there being one for each group of thirty-three families. Mr. Ames's carefully tabulated statistics show that the British-Canadian earns more and lives more comfortably than any other class. The French-Canadian earns on an average more than the Irish-Canadian, he is more thrifty, and less given to drink. On the other hand the death-rate is highest among the French-Canadians. This accounts for the fact that though the birth-rate of the two classes is about equal, French-Canadian families are smaller than Irish-Canadian—a reversal of the popular conception. Mr.

Ames has given us a useful study. We hear much of the social problems of London and New York. It is well that we should understand clearly those of our own large cities, and only by this careful statistical method shall we be able to do so.

Mr. Clive Phillipps-Wolley is a versatile writer. Both his poetry and his fiction are good, and his paper on *Mining Development in British Columbia* in the Canadian Magazine for February is good too. He says that though the pioneer work was done by poor men in the face of enormous difficulties, "the day of the poor man has passed, but the day of the rich man and his machinery has come." He thinks that the people of the coast are rather lacking in enterprise,—"the patience of a true British Columbian is the most pathetic thing in the world,"—but that new energy is coming both from the mother country and from eastern Canada. Also, he says, a certain amount of annexation is going on,—"the annexation of American citizens by Canada." One feature of Canadian mining life he especially commends. It is law-abiding and decent. "Rossland is as busy as a hive of bees, but she is as quiet and orderly as an English village on Sunday."

In Chamber's Journal of January 23rd there is an account of *Lumbering in Canada*, written in the easy reassuring style which is usually associated with writings for the young. Yet the account is very fair and the principal operations connected with the industry are described with fidelity. The author is evidently not Canadian. Canada is introduced as "Our North American colonies." The *Canadian* government is said to control the timber limits. The readers of the Journal are told that in Canada "spring comes swiftly like twilight in the tropics." Of the men who pilot the rafts through the Lachine rapids it is said that when about to enter the dangerous part "flinging their long oars aside, they are on their knees, with clasped hands raised, imploring aid from on high." All this is picturesque but not accurate. Such statements, unfortunately, are characteristic of not a few articles on Canada in British publications.

V. LAW, EDUCATION, BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Law of the Legislative Power in Canada. By A. H. F. Lefroy, M.A. (Oxon.), of the Inner Temple, and Osgoode Hall, Barrister-at-Law. Toronto: The Toronto Law Book and Publishing Co. 1897-8. Pp. lxxx., 828.

Thirty years have passed since the British North America Act united the old provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under a federal system of government. During this memorable period, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, a new province of Manitoba formed in the north-west, and the great territories, which stretch west of that province to the Rocky Mountains and north to the Arctic regions, have been included in Canada. The people who possess this imperial domain have every reason to be satisfied with the plan of union which has now been on trial for more than a quarter of a century. They owe a debt of gratitude to the statesmen of the Quebec conference, whose comprehension of the needs of their several provinces, adjustment of diverse interests, and practical insight into the operation of the federal system of our Republican neighbours which necessarily attracted their earnest study above all other federal constitutions, have been fully justified by the results of their work. Perfection in any written instrument of government is impossible, and there are probably defects inherent in the British North America Act of 1867 to be removed by future legislation. On the whole, however, the instrument is excellent.

The constitution of Canada is an illustration of natural evolution. The men of the French revolution of last century failed mainly because they did not take into account and build upon existing institutions. As it was, they manufactured a constitution on the basis of mere theory, and, even amid conditions of peace and order, it must have failed. The strength of the constitution of the United States, like that of Canada, lies largely in the fact that the great men of the convention of 1787 built upon the foundations of the existing institutions of the thirteen colonies, and consequently on the basis of the common law and

parliamentary system of England. When the Canadian statesmen met at Quebec, more than thirty-three years ago, they had to recognise several facts: (1) The existence of provinces with diverse interests; (2) The presence of a great French nationality, whose institutions had been protected by the Quebec and other imperial statutes; (3) The apparent weaknesses of the federal system of their neighbours which gave the residuum of power to the several States; (4) The necessity of maintaining the unwritten conventions and understandings of the British constitution—the flexible system of responsible or parliamentary government of England—in connection with a rigid written constitution guarding the rights of the provinces in a federal compact. The system of the United States is the English system of last century, adapted to the new circumstances of a federal republic. That of Canada is the English system of to-day adjusted to the conditions of a federal state. Undoubtedly the constitutional principle of the Canadian and English system, which makes the ministry subject to an appeal to the people at any moment is the more democratic.

But while the flexible parliamentary system of the Dominion is governed by the conventions and maxims that have grown out of the experience of the parent state, there is yet this difference—Canada has a written constitution, which must be interpreted by a competent tribunal. The United States, in the operation of their constitution, had the advantage of the assistance of the great jurist, Chief Justice Marshall, who moulded the destinies of the country at the most critical—the formative—period. The courts of Canada have also done good service in the same way, during the past thirty years. At times, indeed, the ordinary student, who is not a professional man—nay many a lawyer—finds himself perplexed by the discordant opinions of Canadian judges, as well as of those of the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council—the supreme court of the empire. Still, as a rule, certain working principles have gradually been developed out of the multitude of judicial decisions, and greater flexibility has consequently been given to the federal machinery.

Already there has grown up in a quarter of a century a considerable body of literature relating to the constitution.* Much of it only illustrates the skilful use of the scissors and paste-pot. French Canada has given no important contributions to this class of literature. Years ago, when the British North America Act was new, Mr. Doutre made a compilation of judicial decisions and statesmen's opinions "to assist in the interpretation of the constitution," but it has little or no value at present, and is in no sense worthy of the able lawyer who prepared it too obviously in haste. At a later date Dr. Todd, the librarian of parliament, published his book on "Parliamentary Government in the Colonies," which is a valuable supplement to his larger work on the English constitutional system. It directs particular attention to the political functions of the Crown, of whose prerogatives within the legitimate lines of the constitution the learned author was a strong advocate, but, despite his obvious tendency in this direction, the book illustrates the advantages which a man, situated as he was all his life,—in constant communication with statesmen and students of constitutions,—possesses over one who does his work of commentary within the walls of a private library, apart from the educational influences of practical political life. The able lawyer in this country is not always a master of political science, and consequently, in the different books that have been written on the constitution, we can see the superiority of a mind like Dr. Todd's, not imbued entirely with the technical spirit of a *nisi prius* advocate, but influenced by close study of constitutional history and by contact with practical statesmanship.

Soon after the appearance of Dr. Todd's work, the present writer published the following books: (1) "Parliamentary Procedure and Government in Canada," (2) "Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada," (3) "Federal Government in Canada," (4) "Studies in Comparative Politics," (5) "Parliamentary Government in Canada," (6) "How Canada is Governed." All these books deal as far as possible with the practical working of the

* See the bibliographical notes appended to a series of papers by the present writer on "Parliamentary Government in Canada," (*Am. Hist. Association, Washington, 1891*; also, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, vol. XI, section 2.)

institutions of Canadian government. Such a book as the last mentioned is necessarily elementary in its character, and was written with the object of making the great body of the people acquainted with the main features of the federal and provincial systems. Such a book seems needed when we find in a history of Canada, written by so able a *littérateur* as Professor Roberts, formerly of King's College, Nova Scotia, such statements as these: that a member of the House of Commons must have a property qualification of \$2,500; that the administration of Canada is called "an executive council"; that the governor-general appoints only lieutenant-governors and judges; that he has authority to commute the sentences of the courts; and a number of other assertions equally inaccurate and misleading.

In addition to the books I have just mentioned we have a treatise on "Government in Canada," by the late Dr. O'Sullivan, of Toronto, a man of promise, who would have given us much better work had he lived longer. Mr. Clement, of the same city, has also written a book on "The Law of the Constitution," which has considerable merit; but while it shows the spirit of a diligent and conscientious student it is wanting in analytical power, lucidity of style, and clear insight into the practical working of our constitutional system. Mr. Wheeler's book on the "Confederation Law of Canada" is an ill-digested compilation of judicial decisions, and has no greater merit than a book on the constitution previously written by Mr. Munro, a professor in an English university. It is not worth while dwelling on such pamphlets as those issued by Judge Loranger, of Quebec, and Judge Travis, of the North West Territories, as they were entirely ephemeral in their character and marked by the absence of a judicial spirit. On the other hand, Mr. Houston did good service for students of our system of government when he compiled "Documents Illustrative of the Canadian Constitution." The most valuable collection of constitutional papers is that issued by Mr. Cartwright, the deputy attorney-general of Ontario, "Cases Decided on the British North America Act." The fact that these cases take up four large octavo volumes, from 1867 until 1890, illustrates the great influence of judicial decisions on the administration and

legislation of the Dominion. It is to be hoped that this invaluable compilation will be soon brought down to the latest date. The student of a constitution who wishes to be accurate on all points will not be satisfied with a mere commentary on judicial decisions, but must have the full text before him.

The latest effort to explain important features of the Canadian constitution is Mr. Lefroy's book. Its primary aim is to extract from authoritative sources

"all that is to be found therein of general application upon the law governing the distribution of legislative power between the Dominion parliament and the various provincial legislatures of Canada, to formulate the results so arrived at in general propositions, and to point out in the notes thereto the authorities upon which those propositions respectively rest, all decisions and dicta which illustrate them, and any which are, or appear to be, at variance with them."

With regard to the order of the general propositions which the author lays down, it will be found

"that those have been placed first which relate to the British North America Act as a whole; then come those relating to the Crown, then those relating alike to the Dominion parliament and the provincial legislatures, then those relating especially to the Dominion parliament, and lastly, those relating especially to the provincial legislatures."

In laying down these general propositions or principles, Mr. Lefroy has skilfully done on an elaborate scale what the present reviewer attempted in his work on procedure, with the object of assisting the student of political science who has no time or inclination to work out judicial decisions for himself. Mr. Lefroy states his propositions, sixty-eight in all, concisely and clearly, and then proceeds to prove each from the authorities. He finds it difficult at times to give order and intelligibility to the mass of decisions which he arrays. Often his premises do not logically and satisfactorily carry out his propositions. It is not possible here to show the defects as well as the utility of a book written for the lawyer and not for the general student of political science, who would find himself lost in a maze of legal decisions.

The book is a compilation of cases, to establish certain general principles; in no sense is it a lucid commentary (like Story's able and elaborate work) on the text of the British North America Act. The author would probably have assisted his readers considerably had he added a more complete list of authorities dealing with the constitution. That at the commencement of the

book is only a list of abbreviations of titles and does not even include all the books and treatises mentioned in the body of the work. The British North America Act is not cited in full; only those clauses are given which refer directly to the legislative power; the clauses with respect to the powers of reserve and disallowance would have been useful since they immediately affect the legislative power. The statement of principles deduced from the authorities is the most satisfactory and logical portion of the work.

Thirty years is but an insignificant period in which to measure the strength of a written constitution, still in the preliminary stage of evolution. Already, however, there are many interesting features in the development of the Canadian federal system. While Mr. Lefroy does not trace out this development historically he still shows that there has been always a steady struggle between the central authority and the provincial governments for jurisdiction. Sir John Macdonald supported a strong central authority, as absolutely essential to a successful federation. Had his views prevailed the provincial governments would be now little more than municipal bodies, and there is no doubt that he and others had this in view when they framed the resolutions on which are based the fundamental law of the constitution. The conflicts between the federal and provincial governments with respect to jurisdiction—notably relating to railways, and education in Manitoba—have lessened the central authority, and strengthened the provincial governments. The courts of law have brought about a result hardly anticipated by those who, at Quebec, planned a constitution which should make the federal government very strong in contrast with that of the United States. In the latter country, however, the results of the civil war have strengthened the central power to an extent which was not expected by Canadian statesmen who only saw its weakness up to 1864. In our case, the development has been in the direction of strengthening provincial authority.

The question, however, cannot be reviewed within the compass of this article. We shall require a longer experience of our federal system before we can come to a definite conclusion on

this or other points, or speak positively as to the radical defects of the constitution. Certainly the experience of recent years with respect to the ability of the central government to interfere with schools in a province, which should pass legislation "prejudicially" affecting the legal right or privilege enjoyed by a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority, shows that the clause of the British North America Act which deals with this subject, is difficult to work effectively with a due regard to the large and exclusive educational powers possessed by the provincial authorities. This clause was certainly intended to protect the rights of a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority, but the law seems essentially weak since it inevitably causes conflict between the federal and provincial governments, and does not provide adequate machinery for making the intervention of the federal government effective. Compromise and conciliation are necessary under existing conditions and it is after all in the high character of an impartial judiciary that the best guarantees can be found for carrying out the provisions of a constitution, on the whole well calculated to meet the needs of a united nation.

J. G. BOURINOT.

L'Ancien Barreau au Canada. Conférence donnée devant le barreau de Québec dans la salle de la Cour d'Assises au mois de février, 1897. Par J.-Edmond Roy, Notaire à Lévis. Montreal : C. Theoret. 1897. Pp. 91.

L'Ancien Barreau au Canada is an historical sketch, drawn largely from original sources, dealing with the administration of justice in New France and the legal recognition and varying fortunes of the advocates (or barristers) of Quebec.

To M. de Lauzon is ascribed the honour of organizing the administration of justice. M. Roy emphatically traverses the statement of some historians that prior to 1663 justice was a vague and indefinite quantity. "It is proven now that at least five years before the establishment of the Sovereign Council there was a council in Quebec which administered justice and public affairs" (p. 6). The Sovereign Council was instituted in 1663, when the King assumed control of New France, and among other

things it took over the administration of justice. The sittings of this council, as a court, began every Monday at 7 a.m. The councillors did not sit upon the bench, but around a table, and instead of judicial robes wore their ordinary clothing with sword at side—ability to defend oneself being preferable to an impressive appearance in a colony exposed to hostile attacks. The custom of Paris was followed with extreme rigour in criminal matters; in civil disputes it was not untempered with mercy. Litigants were often "condemned" to embrace each other in the cathedral square and to forget their idle wranglings. "These kisses of peace," adds the author, "nearly always had a salutary effect." In the matter of torture, the usage of the Parliament of Paris was also followed and prisoners were interrogated with every refinement of cruelty. The favourite tortures were water and the boot (*la question à l'eau* and *la question aux brodequins*). M. Roy explains at some length the gruesome forms which, according to circumstances, the torture assumed. A few of the milder punishments will suffice to indicate the character of criminal penalties. Petty thieves were placed upon a wooden horse for an hour, with a six-pound weight attached to each foot. Perjurors were branded upon the tongue. For minor offences the *carcan* was very popular with the judges. The offender was led at the tail of the executioner's cart to the "pillory," his head was inserted in the iron collar which was fastened by a long chain to a stake and to his neck was attached a writing giving in large characters his name, occupation, residence, offence and punishment. Occasionally the form was varied. Thus, a man who had stolen wine from Notary Arneau, of Three Rivers, was placed near the door of the church when the worshippers were coming out. His head was bare, his arms were tied behind his back, keys and bottles were slung around his neck and a parchment over his stomach bore the inscription *Voleur de vin*.

But severely as they punished crime, feelings of pity were not dead in the breasts of the Canadians of New France. In 1705 a soldier was condemned to be hanged. There was no public executioner at hand and winter was drawing near. "This poor man is going to freeze in prison," said the gaoler to himself,

"and it's better to hang him at once." The urgency of the case was so well represented that a compassionate executioner was found and the unfortunate was duly hanged in the public place—"that he might escape the rigours of a Canadian winter." Justice was administered almost gratuitously. So trifling, in fact, were the fees, that the court officials had almost invariably some other means of livelihood. Each man pleaded his own cause before the judge. The experience of the kings of France had not led them to think too highly of the lawyer class, and several of their Canadian edicts brusquely declared that they desired promptitude and the absence of chicanery in the courts of the colony. The consequence was that advocates were not allowed to practise their profession while Canada remained in French hands.

The military administration of justice which followed the conquest of Canada receives nothing but praise from M. Roy. "The archives prove that the military régime instead of being capricious and harsh was gentle and paternal." But the ordinance of September 17th, 1764, put an end to the four years of military rule and organized courts of justice upon the assumption that the law of England had become, by the proclamation of 1763, the law of the conquered country. Within six months of the promulgation of this ordinance a commission was issued by the Governor authorizing the holder to practice as an advocate and attorney (barrister and solicitor), and thus in March, 1765, an advocate was entitled, for the first time, to plead in a Canadian court of justice. The Canadian bar dates from March, 1765.

It was not many years before the advocates began to feel the need of some bond of association, and in 1779 "La Communauté des avocats" was organized. Its objects were to cause the profession to be respected, mutual help, to discuss matters of interest to the bar, to safeguard prerogatives and to discipline those who should act dishonourably. The *Communauté* combined the functions of a fraternity and a law society, and met at the houses of the married members, bachelors not being required to entertain. M. Roy relates many interesting interventions by the Society. On one occasion an advocate was suspended by the

court for two months. The Society silently protested against such arbitrary action by staying away from court on the day fixed for the trial of actions. "It was nothing more nor less than a barristers' strike."

The separation of the professions of advocate and notary is explained by the learned author, a notary himself. Admission to the bar was at first a favour bestowed by the governor, who did not always demand legal qualifications. One man was admitted whose only plea was that his goods had been pillaged by the forces of the rebellious colonies in 1775 ; another who had several times failed in business successfully threw himself upon the viceregal clemency. The *Communauté* felt that the interests of the bar demanded vigorous measures, and when the bankrupt, Alexandre Dumas by name, presented his commission to the Court of Common Pleas, the Court was requested not to accept it. The Society desired that candidates should be required to pursue legal studies for five years and then be admitted only on proof of good conduct and capacity. The governor's will prevailed, and in the advocates' roll which M. Roy appends, the name of Alexandre Dumas appears for the year 1784. The action of the Society bore fruit, however, and one year later the bar of the province was surprised by an ordinance which prescribed five years study and an examination for those desiring a call to the bar, and which also declared the professions of advocate and notary, thenceforth, incompatible. They have remained separate to this day.

There are a few touches in the *brochure* which indicate that the worthy notary, much as he appreciates the advantage of British institutions, has not forgotten *la belle France*. The most ingenuous of these hints is the reason given for the military character of the judicial administration, 1759-1764 : "La possession précaire de l'Angleterre ne lui permit pas d'instaurer des tribunaux réguliers" (p. 27). The lecture, however, is impartial, well written and replete with allusions to French classics and history. It is possible that a captious critic might object to the ornate character of the introduction in which the Quebec bar is denominated "a pleiades of advocates," "an audi-

tory worthy of the Athenian city," and the author calls himself "scythian" for daring even in a lecture to encroach upon the territory of the advocate; but fair-minded people will surely pardon such an exordium to a man of French blood, especially as the lecture itself is almost uniformly simple and direct. M. Roy expresses the opinion, from which few will dissent, that historians have not paid sufficient attention to the period 1765-1775.

G. C. SELLERY.

Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from 1791 to 1876. By J. George Hodgins, M.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S.; vol. iv., 1841-43; vol. v., 1843-46. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1897. Pp. xvi, 316; xvi, 327.

Dr. Hodgins has succeeded in making these volumes of his Documentary History quite as interesting as any of their predecessors, if not more so. They deal mainly with a subject far too little known—the struggles and controversies which led in 1849 to the complete secularization of the provincial university. Those who labour under the impression that a settlement of the dispute, which seems to the majority of people now so simple and equitable, was accomplished as a mere matter of course, may have their erroneous views corrected by these documents. Conspicuous among them are (1) the bill introduced by Mr. Robert Baldwin in 1843, and (2) the three bills introduced by Mr. W. H. Draper in 1845. Along with them appear a number of controversial articles from a variety of standpoints, including Mr. Draper's plea put forward in 1843 at the bar of the legislature as counsel for King's College. To understand the situation which these documents illustrate it is necessary to bear in mind that when Mr. Baldwin attempted to settle the university question he was Attorney-General for Upper Canada, that owing to a dispute with Governor Metcalfe he and his colleagues resigned their ministerial portfolios before the measure had been disposed of by the legislative assembly, and that he was succeeded in office by Mr. Draper, who endeavored to accomplish a like purpose by introducing three bills instead of one. Mr. Draper's control of the assembly was too precarious to enable him to pass any of them.

He retired to the Superior Court bench in 1847, and Mr. Baldwin came back to power with a majority sufficient to enable him to carry the University bill of 1849.

Dr. Ryerson's appointment to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1844 is a notable event in the history of education, not merely in this province, but throughout the Dominion, and to some extent the continent at large. Dr. Hodgins has by the insertion of documents connected with this appointment thrown interesting light on the then educational condition of Upper Canada, and at the same time paved the way to a clear comprehension of Dr. Ryerson's educational policy, which will be fully illustrated by more recent documents in subsequent volumes.

Owing partly to the manner in which these volumes have been produced, and partly also to the difficulty of obtaining documents that are in private hands, there are necessary and very obvious defects in the classification of the contents. This is shown by the fact that the editor has been constrained to insert as appendices to this volume two interesting documents of 1815 and 1817 respectively. If the collection is to serve a really useful purpose there must be added to it a special volume containing an elaborate and thoroughly digested index to the whole series.

WILLIAM HOUSTON.

The Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada from 1841 to 1876. By J. George Hodgins, M.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S. Toronto: William Briggs. 1897.

As a "devoted friend of over forty years" and an "able colleague for over thirty of these years," Dr. Hodgins was selected by Dr. Ryerson to discharge the duty of "filling up the details of their united labours in founding a system of education" for Upper Canada. This volume appears as a first instalment of the fulfilment of the task thus imposed. The author has had the advantage, not merely of personal association with the late chief superintendent, and with others who took an active part in the agitation that led to the passage of the Separate School Act of 1863, but also of access to a mass of documents,

only a comparatively small number of which have hitherto been published. Much of the interest and value of this sketch is due to the insertion of some of these papers.

The principle of separate schools for Upper Canada was embodied in an Education Act passed by the first parliament of Canada in 1841. As this was three years before Dr. Ryerson became chief superintendent he was in no way responsible for the Act, which was repealed in the following year. In 1843 provision was made for permitting the Protestant minority to have separate schools in sections where the teacher of the "Common School" was a Roman Catholic, and *vice versa*, the application for the separate school to be signed by each resident freeholder or householder. This solution of the question seems to have worked fairly well during the episcopate of the Right Reverend Dr. Power, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto. After the creation of the Council of Public Instruction he consented to act as a member, and was its chairman until his death in 1847. Matters assumed a different aspect after the advent of Bishop Charbonnel, who in 1852 asserted the "right" of the Roman Catholics to separate schools wherever they were in sufficient numbers to maintain them. Of the energetic controversy to which this led Dr. Hodgins gives an interesting summary. It appears that Dr. Ryerson steadily refused to be a party to legislation putting the ordinary municipal machinery of the province at the service of any religious denomination for purposes of separate school taxation. Writing to Bishop Charbonnel in May, 1852, he says:—

"The people and legislature of Upper Canada have repeatedly repudiated the claim, that the authority and officers of the law ought to be employed to impose and collect taxes for any religious denomination."

In the School Act of 1850, which was prepared by Dr. Ryerson as a consolidation and amendment of all previous legislation relating to common school education, a section was inserted for the purpose of continuing to the Roman Catholics the separate school privileges which they had enjoyed since 1841. Further agitation led to the passage, in 1855, of the first Separate School Act, commonly known as the "Taché Act," and this, after another period of acrimonious controversy, was

followed by the "Scott Act" of 1863, which was made the permanent law on the subject by section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867. The final outcome of the struggle may fairly be regarded as a personal triumph for Dr. Charbonnel, of whose promulgated opinions on the subject of Roman Catholic education the recent letter of Pope Leo XIII on the Manitoba School question reads like an endorsement, if not an echo. The Bishop was by birth a nobleman of France, and he was as attractive in personal character as he was zealous in promoting the interests of his church.

WILLIAM HOUSTON.

Early Prayer Books of America; being a descriptive account of prayer books published in the United States, Mexico and Canada. By the Rev. John Wright, D.D. St. Paul, Minn. Printed privately. 1896. Pp. xv., 492.

Dr. Wright, the rector of St. Paul's church, St. Paul, Minn., issued a few years ago *The Early Bibles of America*. The second edition of this work and the present one on prayer-books form a bibliography of Canadian publications that contain the Bible or prayer-books wholly or in part. Even the second edition of the first work is not complete in regard to Canadian Bibles and Testaments. This work on the early prayer-books deals much more exhaustively with its subject, as far as Canada is concerned. It, too, is probably not complete, but it is a beginning, a very good beginning, and the Canadian references are numerous.

Through what might be called mere chance the writer of this review put the author in communication with Mr. Justice Baby, president of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, and the latter placed at his disposal a very complete list taken from his valuable collection of Indian prayer-books. Mr. Philéas Gagnon, of Quebec, our ardent and indefatigable Canadian bibliophile, has also aided in the work. The Canadian publications are referred to principally in the chapter on "Early Prayer Books of the Roman Catholic Church." The frontispiece in the book is a reproduction in colours of the title-page of the

first Roman missal published in America, at Mexico City, 1561. Following this in the text comes the fac-simile of the title-page of the Montagnais prayer-book printed by Brown and Gilmore at Quebec in 1767. The firm's name even is printed in Indian, "Broun gaie Girmor." The translation was by Father La Brosse. Reprints appeared in 1817 and 1844. Dr. Wright says of the 1767 edition: "This book ranks among rare Americans, and a copy in good condition is worth fifty dollars." The volume must be very scarce. Pilling gives the following interesting note from the account-books of the first Quebec printers:

"Oct. 15, 1767. Received on account of general printing for 2,000 Indian prayer books containing 8 sheets in 8vo in English (character of type) in Algonkian language at 25 dollars per sheet, from Labrosse, Jesuite missionary, £45.0.0."

There is, curiously enough, no record of any prayer-book having ever been published in Canada in English by the Church of England. The author's work in so far as it relates to Canada deals with devotional works in French published in the province of Quebec by the Roman Catholic Church. On page 24 appears a fac-simile of the title-page of "*Réglement de la Confrérie de l'Adoration Perpetuelle du S. Sacrement et de la Bonne Mort*, érigée dans l'Eglise Paroissiale de Ville-Marie en l'Isle de Montréal en Canada. À Montréal, Chez F. Mesplet et C. Berger, 1776." This is said to be the "first book of devotion printed at Montreal," but the title-page also bears this statement "Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée." The fact is that the first edition was printed at Montreal earlier than this in the same year without date or place indicated. Only one copy is known to exist.

The work under review includes the early prayer-books of Mexico, the Roman Catholic Indian prayer-books, those of the early American Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Episcopal Church and the Reformed Episcopal Church. Next come those of the Moravians, Reformed Dutch, French Protestant, Presbyterians, Evangelical Lutherans, German Reformed, etc. The Swedenborgian, Jewish, Unitarian, Universalist, Apostolic Catholic and the prayer-book of the Broad Church are all given separate chapters and there is a further division for "various

prayer-books." The three concluding chapters are entitled "Some curious things found in Prayer Books," "The Engravings in Early Prayer Books," and "Editions of Prayer Books printed in England that are of special interest to Americans." As though this were not enough to satisfy the bibliophile five appendices are added giving lists of manuscripts in the United States and Canada and extensive lists of values of prayer-books of various dates. Five pages of addenda and a last parting note, with the very valuable index of 12 pages, complete the work. The author must have expended an enormous amount of labour in gathering his material, especially as his home is so far from the great libraries and collections. The book is of great value to the student of early church history in America.

C. C. JAMES.

No. 2 of Vol. I., and No. 1 of Vol. II. of the *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* (London, Rivington), have appeared during 1897, but discuss matters of more immediate interest to the legal profession than to the public generally. It is to be hoped that the useful summary of the legislation of the British Empire in 1895, which appeared in the first number, will be followed by similar summaries for subsequent years.

The official *Report on Canadian Archives* for 1896 by Dr. Douglas Brymner, Archivist (Ottawa, S. E. Dawson), contains a calendar brought down to the year 1818 of the documents copied in the Public Record Office at London. The important period of the war of 1812 is included. Many documents belonging to a date later than 1818 have been copied and remain still to be calendared. In an important note "B" are printed *in extenso* documents relating to the preliminaries of the war of 1812. It is to be hoped that Dr. Brymner will be able to secure for the Canadian Archives copies of a valuable collection of documents which the indefatigable Abbé H. R. Casgrain, has recently secured in France. They are the private papers of M. le Courtois de Surlaville, a French officer at Louisbourg from 1751 to 1754. Nothing hitherto discovered gives a clearer insight into the workings of French colonial administration. Richelieu's system of

appointing intendants who should more than rival the governors of the provinces in authority brought to New France incessant conflict between these two classes of functionaries. M. de Surlaville was the confidential officer of the governor at Louisbourg, the Comte de Raymond. Their relations were on the surface friendly and yet Surlaville was all the time the deadly enemy of the governor, and was using his confidence dishonourably in the service of his rival. There was war between the governor and the intendant Prévost, "one of the greatest rascals that ever escaped the gibbet," the Chevalier Johnstone said. Raymond invites the officers of the garrison to attend a funeral service in memory of his predecessor and afterwards to dine at the governor's table. The officers attend the service, but they sit on the intendant's side of the church and the governor is left almost alone; afterwards they go away in the train of the intendant, leaving the governor with a feast prepared for expected guests who are making merry with his rival. The social life of the fortress which was to hold North America for France is fully revealed in these interesting papers. They are now in the possession of Laval University.

The Universities of Canada (Toronto, Warwick) is a monograph on the history and organization of Canadian Universities, which was published in 1896 as an appendix to the report of the Minister of Education for Ontario. So far as we know, it is the first attempt to cover this interesting ground, and, for the amount of space devoted to it, the work has been thoroughly and usefully done. The author of the summary, Mr. William Houston, has greatly enhanced the value of his work by giving numerous references to his sources of information, a practice which ought to be more generally adopted by historical writers as a guarantee of accuracy and a help to other investigators. He has also made it more interesting by appending the texts of the Royal charters of seven prominent Canadian Universities—King's College (now the University of Toronto), Victoria College, Queen's College, Trinity College, McGill College, Bishop's College, and Laval University. The only other institution which has a charter is

King's College, Nova Scotia, but for some reason it is not given here, though it was granted as far back as 1802. It appears from this account of higher educational institutions in Canada that British Columbia and Prince Edward Island are the only provinces without a university, and probably the former will soon be in a position to establish one. The monograph contains a good deal of interesting biographical material, and a fairly impartial summary of the keen controversies over some of the institutions in the earlier stages of their histories. The second part of the volume professes to be an "Outline of British and American University systems." It is really a series of chapters on individual universities in Great Britain and the United States on the plan of the chapters on Canadian universities. This portion of the volume is much inferior to the other. It is congested with miscellaneous information about dates of foundation, fees, and extracts from the curricula, which have little to do with the university "system" and are only bewildering.

The *Year Book of the Toronto Grammar School* (Toronto, The Bryant Press) is an indication that some of our institutions are now old enough to have a history. What is now the Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute in Toronto was originally one of the district schools established in 1807 for the eight districts into which Upper Canada was divided. The pictures of the successive school buildings are most interesting, as are also those of the head-masters. In these the gradual severance of our school system from ecclesiastical affiliations is visible. The early head-masters were clergymen, among them being Dr. Strachan, the first Bishop of Toronto. The first lay head-master appears in 1836. Probably now it would be difficult to have a clergyman appointed to the post.

Hennepin, ses Voyages et ses Oeuvres, by N. E. Dionne (Quebec, Renault), a pamphlet of which only one hundred and fifty copies have been printed, is a more complete bibliography of Hennepin's writings than has hitherto appeared. He was a priest and one of the French pioneers on the Mississippi. He

has a great reputation as a liar, but M. Dionne points out that in the seventeenth century the publisher and the author were not always agreed and that the publisher sometimes took great liberties with the author's text, especially if he was absent from the scene, as Hennepin frequently was. The number of editions of Hennepin shows that then there was as much interest in American journeys as now there is in regard to such exploits as Stanley's in Africa. Forty-six editions of Hennepin have appeared and he was translated into English, Dutch, Italian, German, Spanish and probably Latin.

M. Raoul Renault's *Bibliographie de Sir James M. LeMoine*, of which only forty copies were printed (Quebec, Brousseau), shows the varied field in which Sir James Lemoine has worked. Flowers and birds interest him equally with history. In particular he has done most useful service in investigating the history of the city of Quebec. He has cleared the way for some one to write an authoritative history of the most interesting city in Canada. The wonder is that no one has yet done so. The character of his work has been weakened, rather than improved, by his writing sometimes in French and sometimes in English.

Dr. J. G. Bourinot writes of *Literary Culture in Canada* in the Scottish Review for July. He points out that Canada as a political unit is but thirty years old, and that already the national spirit is displaying itself in the growing attention to the history of the country. Historical students have learned to look outside the bounds of their own provinces, and to abandon the sectional patriotism which disfigures many of the histories written at an earlier period. The Quebec school of historians, if they may be so called, of which the Abbé Casgrain is the most distinguished example, have not yet quite realized that their province has not a monopoly of the historical associations with the word Canada. Dr. Bourinot singles out the Abbé Casgrain and Dr. Kingsford for special mention among recent historians of Canada. In the realm of *belles-lettres* he is not so exclusive. Bliss Carman, Lampman, Roberts, Wilfred Campbell and Frederick George

Scott are cited as the best exponents of English-Canadian poetry, and Crémazie and Fréchette as the chief French-Canadian poets. Dr. Bourinot follows the fashion of the day in extolling Mr. Gilbert Parker as the only successful Canadian novelist. We cannot help thinking that Mr. Parker's success is due to a passing taste for tales of romance and adventure, and that in the essentials of insight into life and character he is surpassed, not only by Haliburton, but by Miss Duncan (Mrs. Coates) and perhaps other living Canadian writers. It is unfortunate that in an article bearing the title of "Literary Culture in Canada" Dr. Bourinot should have allowed himself to commit a sentence like the following:—

"Still, despite its intense French-Canadian spirit, the history written by Mr. Garneau, as well as one by the Abbé Ferland of Laval University, notably illustrates the literary instinct and intellectual strength which have been the distinguishing features of the best productions of the able and even brilliant men who have devoted themselves to literature with marked success among their French-Canadian countrymen, who are wont to pay a deeper homage to such literary efforts than the colder, less impulsive English-Canadian temperament has ever shown itself disposed to give to those who have been equally worthy of recognition in the English-speaking provinces."

The *Jahresbericht der Geschichtswissenschaft* for 1897 contains a summary of the publications of the year 1896 relating to Canada, contributed by Mr. H. H. Langton, Librarian of the University of Toronto. The *Jahresbericht* is issued by the Berlin Historische Gesellschaft, and is the standard annotated bibliography of the publications on the history, geography, etc., of every country in the world. Hitherto the information about Canada has been contributed as a kind of appendix to the bibliography of the United States. In this issue Canadian bibliography receives separate treatment, and is dealt with more exhaustively.

In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1896-97 is a paper by Mr. E. T. D. Chambers on *The Philology of the Ouananiche*, in which he gives a distracting variety of spellings used and pleads for the acceptance of "Ouananiche." It is so spelt in the earliest printed reference to the fish and in the official literature of the province of Quebec, such as its game-laws, and in other French-Canadian literature. To anglicize it,

as is done in the great American dictionaries, Webster's, the Century and the Standard do he regards as vandalism. The best objection to the form that these authorities adopt, "winninish," is that it does not represent the Indian pronunciation as the French spelling does. It should be remembered, however, by Mr. Chambers that the word is not a French word, and that the French spelling, while adequate to reproducing it for French eyes and ears is misleading to an Englishman ignorant of its origin. An English-speaking person would regard "Ounananiche" as rather a barbarous and round-about way of representing what can be better rendered for English readers by "wananish" or "wannanishe." The analogy of the word "champagne" is misleading.

Another philological paper in the Royal Society of Canada's Transactions is that by Dr. W. F. Ganong on *Place-nomenclature of the Province of New Brunswick*. He points out the utility of the study of place-names as an aid to history, even in so recently settled a country as Canada. The Indian names of places in the province of New Brunswick are of various dialects, and their study might throw light upon questions of Indian philology as well as upon the migrations of the tribes. Evidence from place-names of French exploration and occupation is of course abundant, and some natural peculiarity has usually been marked by them. The settlers under British rule have, as a rule, perpetuated their own names in designating the counties and villages in which they lived. Often, too, they have betrayed their origin by repeating in their adopted country the local names to which they were accustomed in their Scotch or Irish homes. There are periods when some prevailing sentiment has determined the choice of names. The settlement of the Loyalists after the American Revolution is marked by such names as New Brunswick, Charlotte, St. George, Fredericton, Dorchester, and many others. A dictionary of the place-names of the province concludes a very exhaustive analysis of the subject.

Les Poissons d'Eau Douce du Canada, by A. N. Montpetit, (Montreal: C. O. Beauchemin & Fils), with many illustra-

tions, coloured and in black and white, is more of a compilation than an original work. It is rich in quotation from most of the principal historians of fish-life and fish-culture, and much may be learned from a perusal of its 550 pages. The author is a keen lover of nature, and though his book does not show the result of great original research on his own part, his wide and extensive reading has served him well, and he has made the most of the careful investigations of others. We notice that he gives a new spelling to the word "ouananiche," which the historian of that fish, Mr. Chambers, has been at such pains to establish in his paper before the Royal Society of Canada. Mr. Montpetit pleads for "huananiche."

Although novels are not "Historical Publications," they yet in many ways bear upon history. A novel describing social conditions will often interpret the character of a people more truly than the balder records from which history must be constructed. The novel is of interest to historical students in another way as showing the conceptions of the events of the past which are being popularized. It is important that fiction dealing with history should, in its main outline, be true to fact. For reasons such as these a survey of the field of fiction relating to the social conditions and to the history of Canada is now given.

The Lion and the Lilies, by Charles Edwin Jakeway (Toronto, Briggs), is a volume of verse dealing with Canada in by-gone times. The author's imagination seems to be most susceptible to the romantic associations that the word "Indian," or preferably "Red man," used to convey to readers of Cooper. He does not show any real insight into the period chosen for the setting of his subject.

John Saint John and Anna Grey (Toronto, Briggs) is a rhymed romance by Mrs. Margaret Gill Currie, in part of which the scene is laid in New Brunswick about the beginning of this century. The description of the farmers' lives and households, even though they be gentlemen farmers, is more suggestive of English than of Canadian country life.

Mr. Gilbert Parker is well served by his titles. They are picturesque, they are suggestive, and they fill the mouth. The

pity is that they have so little behind them. *The Pomp of the Lavilettes* (Toronto, Copp, Clark Co.) is a taking blazon. The French name has at its back the whole world of Gallic romance: somehow or other, it calls to mind the families of Balzac; while "pomp" hints mysteriously at some over-weaning family pride as high and ruinous as that which laid waste the house of Aylmer. But the splendid promise is kept only to the ear. The story itself is disappointing. The main thread of the plot is the love of the untutored French-Canadian girl, Christine Lavilette, for a broken-down, consumptive Irish scape-grace, called Tom Ferrol. The "pomposity" of her family consists in an incredible series of mistaken efforts to appear genteel. Our little rebellion of '37 forms the enveloping action and brings about the catastrophe. Ferrol, who knows that he is doomed, allows Christine to fall in love with him; he marries her, and makes love to her married sister; and after assisting her brother to escape the consequences of his share in the rebellion, dies in a struggle with an unsuccessful rival. It is to be hoped that no outsider will take this for an historical novel, respecting either Canadian character or sentiment. In the first place, Mr. Parker's archaeology seems open to objection. It is more than doubtful if sixty years ago a French family in Quebec, which wished to be "pompous," would dress its daughters in plush waists, or paint brown wainscoting ultramarine, or put up overmantels, with this end in view; the simple reason is that these things did not then exist. In the second place, Mr. Parker's attitude towards the rebellion is a curious one for a Canadian by birthright. Apparently he regards it much as did Sir Francis Bond-Head. Of course it was most unwise. Unsuccessful rebellions are seldom considered models of prudence. At the same time it is hard to withhold respect from men who take up arms and risk their all for a principle, especially when their self-sacrifice ends an intolerable state of things and introduces a new era. The book has been written hastily, and the characters, situations and dialogues are unreal. Ferrol is an unredeemed blackguard, and his consumptive symptoms awaken not sympathy, but aversion. As was said of the *Disagreeable*

Man, "we would cheerfully follow him to his last haemorrhage," if we could for a moment believe in him.

The style is not as spasmodic as is that of *A Romany of the Snows* (New York, Stone & Kimball). This is a collection of short stories of which the scenes are in the northeast and northwest of Canada. A volume of short stories suggests Mr. Rudyard Kipling. The stories themselves do not. Mr. Kipling's far-flying imaginings have yet a fascinating versimilitude. He studies animals and men exhaustively, but his figures are always real. Let Mr. Parker learn to avoid mistakes as to geography, customs and character which he is ever falling into. He thinks that there is no artificial heat in Eskimo houses, his business men talk in poetical enigmas, and he produces far-reaching consequences from entirely inadequate motives.

The Forge in the Forest, by Charles G. D. Roberts, has slight claims to consideration as an historical novel. The scene is laid in old Acadia, the villain of the piece is studied from the intriguing, unscrupulous priest, Le Loutre, whom Cornwallis in his blunt English way called a "good-for-nothing scoundrel." The climax of the story is the night attack on Noble at Grand Pré in January, 1747, but chief interest is centred, as no doubt the writer wished, in the two pairs of lovers, father and son, mother and daughter, the abduction and recovery of the child, and the adventures which arise from the machinations of the Black Abbé. This crisis of the struggle between the English and the French forms an excellent background for the story. The author moves with sure step among scenes which he has so often trodden. The Black Abbé is rather an incredible villain. It is hard to understand why he should harass a Frenchman fighting on his side. His motives are not laid bare. The scene in which Grul dangles him over the precipice has its parallel in the blood-curdling struggle between Quasimodo and Claude Frollo on the top of Notre Dame. Only in this case, there is an anti-climax. The madman lets the villain off, when every reader hopes that he will cut the cord and drop him into the abyss. Mr. Roberts has made his mark as a Canadian poet. Naturally, the reader and critic have to re-adjust their ideas when they find him dis-

playing such activity in another direction. But the same qualities are to be found in his prose as his verse: a smooth style (sometimes in fact he is too much exercised about the right word and the inevitable adjective), a love of the open air, and the sights and sounds of the Canadian landscape. The most charming bit is the journey by canoe in search of the child. Mr. Roberts knows what canoeing means, teste his *Birch and Paddle*. Some of the illustrations are queer. For instance, the artist has given the blacksmith in the frontispiece, and again at p. 168, the imperial of the Third Empire. But then it is hard to find impeccable illustrations. On the other hand, the landscape in the canoe pictures and the moonlighted running fight from the canoes is worthy of much praise. As to manufacture, the contrast between the Canadian and American editions is enough to make the patriot weep. Will our publishers ever learn what a decent book is?

'Way Down East is an amusing book of Nova Scotian manners and customs thirty or forty years ago, by J. R. Hutchinson (London, Ward and Downey). Somewhat after the pattern of the Scotch "Kailyarders," the author strings together sketches of back-settlement life on the slender thread of a common locality. The latter half of the book is made up of sentimental or tragic tales, which are no better and no worse than many similar yarns that fill the pages of magazines. The earlier part is descriptive of local observances and customs, in which the semblance of fiction is maintained by the introduction of definite characters. This is a real addition to the social history of Canada, and capital reading as well. The school-house and the school-master, the "infare" or wedding festivities, and above all the relations of the settlers with their religious teachers, are delicious bits of "local colour" rendered with true humorous appreciation. A "donation party" to a popular minister makes an excellent subject. We quote a few sentences:—

"The invaders simply took possession of the place. The barn was given up to the horses, the pantry and cellar to the providers of tea, the bedrooms were turned into cloak-rooms. The older 'sisters' produced their caps from beneath their skirts, the spinsters put on their primmest smile, the widowers dropped in one by one, 'spruced up' for the occasion.

In an hour the house became so crowded that all the girls had to sit on the stairs with their young men. Tea began almost immediately and continued until the end. The cheering cup went its constant round amid clatter and chatter. Pies, cake, doughnuts appeared and disappeared incessantly. People ate sitting, standing, how they could. Boys, prowling amid the crowd, and taking a hearty if predatory interest in the proceedings, felt that it was good to be there."

One of the Broken Brigade, by Clive Phillipps-Wolley (London, Smith, Elder & Co.), is a story of life in British Columbia and the Canadian North-west. The author is one of the poets of Imperialism and writes extremely good prose besides. The hero, a young Englishman, who goes to British Columbia to make his fortune falls victim to a land-shark, and becomes "one of the broken brigade," or, in other words, a "remittance-man." The description of the dangers which the unwary Englishman is subject to in British Columbia from rash investment in mining properties is well done, and the manners of the Pacific coast come in for frank criticism. The American element is strong. Children call their parents "parper" and "marmer." To say "Exodus" is good form. The author says, and probably with truth, that Canadians know little about mining, although they have one of the great mineral countries of the world. He condemns the "Canadian twang" in speech and he has this to say of the general situation :

"I don't see myself why the descendants of the pilgrim fathers should be inferior to those of Hudson Bay pioneers, and such like, or why the son of a man who has emigrated to the States should differ much from the son of one who emigrated to the North-west. Canada's danger is a moral, not a physical one. If you allow your newspapers to draw their news, as they copy their style, from the Yankees, annexation will soon follow. Why, that blackguardly thing you showed me this morning could not even speak respectfully of Her Majesty, and assumed as a matter of course that its own premier was a thief."

The Romance of a Jesuit Mission, by Mr. Bourchier Sanford, (Toronto : Revell) has its scene in the Huron country near the Georgian Bay—the Ste. Marie Mission about the year 1649. The plot centres in the tragic events of that year when the Jesuit Priests Lalement and Brébeuf were cruelly tortured and killed by the Iroquois. Dorothy is an English girl who has been shipwrecked and arrives at the mission alone and exhausted. The only member of the mission who could speak English was Léon de Charolais, and the struggle between his love for Dorothy and

the feeling which, though still in his novitiate, he owes to the church is well described. His danger was seen by his superiors and he was sent away. An intricate plot is developed but it becomes confused and aimless. The removal of the mission from Ste. Marie to St. Joseph, now Christian Island, is described. The history is an echo of Parkman.

A Soldier of Manhattan, by Joseph A. Altsheler (New York, Appleton), is the story of an American officer, a native of New York, who takes part in the expedition against Fort Ticonderoga, is there made prisoner, is carried to Quebec, makes his escape, and serves under Wolfe. It is a novel suggested, one would imagine, by *The Seats of the Mighty*, and, though very inferior to Gilbert Parker's work, possesses a certain amount of interest. There is some attempt to give the local colour of life in New York at the period; but, in the Canadian portion, the author is evidently dealing with a subject of which his knowledge is extremely meagre. Of the higher qualities of a novel there are none. The Jingo and anti-English tone of the book the writer seems to expect will fall in with the tastes of his readers.

Menotah, by Ernest G. Henham (London, Skeffington), professes to be a tale of the Riel rebellion, but except that one of the characters is represented as a secret emissary of Riel to stir up the Indians, there is nothing distinctive of that period about the book. It is an ordinary sensational story of an ideal Indian maiden and rough, brutal white men. There is a liberal expenditure of powder and ball and some very unwholesome love-making. The author's object appears to be to denounce the unprincipled dealing of the white traders with the native races. Nobody denies that the Indians were shockingly debauched in the early days of the fur-trade, and that the morals of the white men who roamed over the territories were far from exemplary. But that is ancient history now, and has no connection with the rebellion of 1885. The subordinate characters are coarsely but not ill drawn.

Polson's Probation, by James Morton (Toronto, Briggs), is a novel of which the scene is laid for the most part in Manitoba. The local colour is very faintly laid on, and intrigue and conspiracy constitute the main interest of the book.

Guarding the Border, or the Boys of the Great Lakes, by Everett T. Tomlinson (Boston, Lee & Shepard), is a further illustration of the fashion for historical romance prevailing at the present time, and writers upon this continent are attracted by the somewhat fresh field of Canadian history. *Guarding the Border* is apparently the fifth of a series of stories based upon the events of the war of 1812, written by an American schoolmaster for American boys. That some historical themes properly treated are wholesome and stimulating, both intellectually and morally, for young lads, cannot be questioned; but the perusal of this book would lead one to the conclusion that the somewhat petty reprisals which were being carried out by both sides on the shores of the great lakes in 1814, afford anything but a suitable and elevating theme. Here we seem to have war stripped of all its higher aspects. It may be, however, that the fault lies in the treatment rather than in the matter. Certainly, the book leaves upon the intellectual palate the disagreeable feeling that one has after reading certain pages of a Sunday newspaper. Not that there is anything improper or unduly sensational in the book. It is simply the nausea that follows occupying the mind with mere facts related so that they seem to lack significance, beauty or use. There is, naturally, in the story a good deal with which a Canadian cannot sympathize; but probably not more of this element of what some people style patriotism, than we should find, and not object to, in a similar book written for English boys on some subject drawn from the wars between England and France. The author claims historic accuracy for his setting; but the reader cannot accept this claim very confidently, when he notes, for example, that the persons of the story talk familiarly of *Toronto*, not of *York*. That the battle of Lundy's Lane is described so as to appear an American victory, is an objection not so much against Mr. Tomlinson, as against the authorities whom he trusted.

Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas, a tale of the Siege of Detroit, by Colonel H. R. Gordon (New York, Dutton), is a story written for boys; although very crudely, and even childishly conceived, it would probably interest readers of that class. The

characterization and dialogue are conventional and unreal, the incidents do not arise naturally, and the writer's English is by no means irreproachable. The heroine is Catherine, the Ojibway girl, who, according to one tradition, gave information to the English of the designs of Pontiac against Detroit, and from the story the young reader would gain some idea of the historical facts of the siege.

At the Siege of Quebec, by James Otis (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company), is a story for boys not without merit. The book describes the adventures of two American boys who joined the expedition under Benedict Arnold on its way up the Kennebec River to attempt the capture of Quebec in 1775. The history is fairly accurate and the tale is free from the florid jingoism that creeps so often into tales of this kind.

The Young Emigrants, by C. L. Johnstone (London: Nelson), is a book for boys. There is nothing in it worth noticing except the information which some possible juvenile emigrant might glean, that Canadian streets are not paved with gold.

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